25 years against fascism and racism

July 1999 No 289

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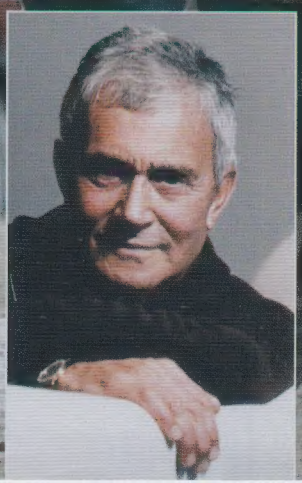
Searchlight

Kosovo nightmare, BNP dream

Steve Silver on how the BNP applauds ethnic cleansing

Swedish nazis kill two police



Vidal Sassoon
The secret life
of an anti-fascist

Euro elections
results and
analysis

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Just send your name and address along with a cheque for £5.00 made out to Searchlight Educational Trust to receive your copy.

"It is easier to end up on a Nazi hit list than you might imagine... But help is at hand with the publication of the handbook *When hate comes to town*..., [it] suggests precautions to people when fascists organise in their area"
The Observer

"To mobilise and enable community efforts to tackle racism, Searchlight has published a community handbook packed with information and ideas."
Focus, UNISON newspaper

Only £5

Editorial

LAST MONTH'S European election was marked by a general decrease in support for fascist parties. In Britain this was counter-balanced by an increase in support for right-wing Eurosceptic parties. It is now clear, as *Searchlight* has been arguing for some months, that opposition to the European Union has eclipsed immigration as the right's way of defining Britishness.

The British National Party hoped that it could use its Save Our Sterling campaign to emerge as a major political force in Britain. It also expected to save at least some deposits in several regions. Just as the National Front was outflanked by the Conservative Party in the late 1970s, this time the BNP was outmanoeuvred by the United Kingdom Independence Party and, of course, by the increasingly Eurosceptic Conservative Party. The BNP's derisory vote calls into question its push for Middle England and Nick Griffin's Countryside Campaign.

The BNP's failure was in no small part due to *Searchlight*'s repeated exposés of the BNP in the press. Unable to set the political agenda, the BNP was only contacted by the media to answer questions over election fraud and the photograph of the London bomb suspect standing next to John Tyndall, the party's leader. The BNP's association with nazi ideology, violence and dishonesty certainly cost the party many votes, especially among the disillusioned Conservatives whom it was trying to attract.

It seems that this will be an eternal problem for the BNP. However much it attempts to portray itself in a more respectable light, such as by changing its repatriation policy, people will soon see through this charade. Not only will organisations like Searchlight make sure the public is reminded about its true nature, images such as those from Kosovo remind us what Britain would be like under BNP rule. The article about the BNP's support for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo (pages 22-23) is an important contribution to this process.

Searchlight can also boast another success. Two Combat 18-linked soldiers identified in our March edition have now been discharged from the Army. Persistence and tenacity forced the Army's hand.

We hope to build on our recent successes. A Searchlight parliamentary group is in the process of being formed and, in conjunction with the Electoral Reform Society, will be calling for changes to the law to prevent the BNP from abusing the democratic process. as it has done so blatantly in the Euro-elections.

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Published by Searchlight Magazine Ltd
37B New Cavendish St
London W1M 8JR
ISSN 0262-4591
© Searchlight 1999

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Nick Lowles and Tony Robson expose the BNP's election cheats

Fraudsters and liars

INVESTIGATION

THE BRITISH National Party has lied and cheated its way to a five-minute party political broadcast and the free delivery of 15 million leaflets by the Royal Mail. A Searchlight investigation can show that as many as 15 BNP candidates, out of a total of 79, gave false information on their nomination forms. Most put down false addresses but one candidate, Paul Henderson, is standing under a false name.

Under election law candidates are entitled to a free mail shot, while standing a full slate of candidates gave the racist party a TV and radio broadcast on every channel. In the case of the BNP, the free mail drop would have been worth £2.85 million and the broadcast at least twice that in free advertising.

While BBC executives are promising to tighten up their procedures in the future to prevent this from happening again, *Searchlight* is disappointed with their failure to act earlier. Despite being notified of irregularities well before the broadcast was aired, both the BBC and ITV ignored calls for an investigation and let the programme go ahead.

Our investigation has found BNP election fraud across the country. In Scotland, where the BNP stood eight candidates, seven were not living at the addresses given on their nomination forms.

In an excellent piece of investigative journalism the *Sunday Mail* tracked down several of these candidates. In a second article the newspaper, working in collaboration with *Searchlight*, discovered that one Scottish candidate, Russell Bradley, is also known as Russell Bradley McKenna. McKenna is well known to *Searchlight* readers for his long connection to Combat 18.

Unsurprisingly the BNP was less than keen to talk to the press about its fraud. A journalist from *The Mirror*, who initially took up the *Searchlight* story, was told that her paper was a "communist rag". Angry at the *Mirror's* repeated exposés of its fraud and criminality, the BNP reproduced the *Mirror*'s header on its website alongside two hammer and sickle emblems. This was clearly retaliation to *The Mirror* running a story about the BNP under a heading illustrated with swastikas.

In another development the BNP has been reported to the police and returning officers after distributing material that contravened election rules. Posters put up across the country not only broke the provisions of the Town and Planning Act, but also failed to include the publisher's name. In a similar incident Alan Donnelly, MEP for the North East, contacted police over leaflets in his area which again contravened election law. It seems that many of these leaflets were actually distributed by the post office.

In the Commons 50 MPs signed an Early Day Motion condemning the BNP's actions. It read: "This house deplores the unlawful action of the racist and fascist British National Party in once again breaching the Representation of the People Act".

In a seperate letter, the mover of the motion, Martin Salter MP, wrote to Jack Straw demanding action. "I ask you to hold an immediate investigation into these matters," he wrote. The Leader of the House, Margaret Beckett, responded by agreeing to hold an inquiry into BNP fraud.

Salter was acting on research provided by *Searchlight*. However it was already too late to challenge the validity of the candidates. Successful complaints can only be made within one hour of the close of nominations and then only by another candidate or his or her agent.

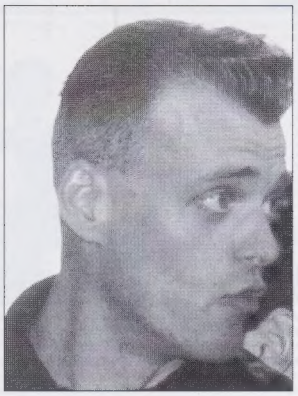
Perhaps the most damning example of fraud was that perpetrated by Paul Henderson, a BNP candidate who was standing in the Eastern region. Henderson is in fact Paul A Jonsson.

The Electoral Reform Society told *Searchlight*: "We think that voters must be given the true facts to allow them an informed choice. Any candidate who gives false information should definitely be punished."

The Home Office told *Searchlight* that all aspects of election law were always under review. "If there is evidence of widespread malpractice then we will look at changing the law."

Searchlight is sending the results of its investigation into BNP fraud to the Home Office and selected MPs asking for those against whom there is evidence to be prosecuted. In collaboration with the Electoral Reform Society and several MPs, *Searchlight* is aiming to propose changes to the law to stop similar abuses in the future. Whether this is achieved through a Private Member's Bill or recommendations to the proposed Royal Commission is as yet unclear.

Martin Salter MP told *Searchlight*: "This once again shows the BNP for what they are. They even cheat on their election forms. I'll certainly be taking up your dossier with the relevant authorities and demanding action against these fraudsters."



Four liars exposed

Liar 1 Colin Smith (North East)

Smith gives his address as 157 Harrier Way, Beckton, Newham. However, he lives at 35 Inglewood Road, Bexleyheath and appears on the electoral register here.

This is not the first instance of Smith committing fraud. In May 1998 he stood in two local council elections simultaneously, using separate addresses to meet the residence requirement in each case. In Newham South ward, his address was 19 Harrier Way E6 and in the Bexley ward of Crayford his address became 35 Inglewood Road, Bexleyheath.

The occupant of 157 Harrier Way is Pauline Etherdine, formally known as Pauline Davies. She has contacted the Electoral Reform Society and the police about the BNP using her address. However, it appears that she was once Pauline Smith, wife of Colin Smith, and actually stood for the BNP in 1998, registered from his Bexleyheath address. While Smith admitted to journalists that he was not actually living at that address, he once did. His reason for not appearing on the electoral register was so he would not have to pay council tax.

Liar 2 Ian Dell (South East)

Dell gives his address as 154 Upper Wickham Lane, Welling DA16 3DX. However this is not his home but the BNP's former bookshop and headquarters. The only person registered at this address is Richard Edmonds, the BNP's National Organiser.

Dell actually lives at 20 Couper Road, Gillingham ME7 5NA. He lives there with his wife Gabrielle and their son. He and Gabrielle are on the electoral register for this address.

Liar 3 Steve Edwards (West Midlands)

Edwards gives his address as 105 Oval Road, Tipton DY4 9RS. While he appears on the electoral register, this is actually the address of his mother. Steve Edwards lives with his wife at 1 Penleigh Gardens, Wombourne WV5 8EJ. He moved there over three years ago.

It seems that Edwards uses his mother's address so he can stand in local elections for Sandwell council. He stood there as a BNP candidate in the May local elections, gaining 17.1% of the vote. However, he does not live within the council boundary, but in South Staffs. He also does not work in Sandwell (another way of standing in a local election). He is unemployed and stays at home looking after their three children while his wife goes out to work.

Liar 4 Paul Henderson (Eastern)

Henderson is actually Paul Jonsson of 74 Tingle Way, Woking, Surrey. A party activist for several years, Jonsson is the BNP's Woking organiser and produced their election broadcast. It seems that he uses the name Henderson to prevent people from discovering his employment at WTN Corporation Ltd, a television news station that is owned by Associated Press.

This is not the first time Jonsson has stood under the name Henderson. In the 1997 general election Jonsson, under the name Henderson, stood in Epping Forest, while in last year's local elections he stood in the Kingsfield ward of Woking.

AND 11 MORE:

Paul Ferguson (Eastern)
Alan Gould (North East)
Scott McLean (Scotland)
Russell Bradley (Scotland)
Mark Allen (Scotland)
Robert Currie (Scotland)
David Kerr (Scotland)
James Mills (Scotland
Bruce Cowd (South West)
John Bowles (North East)
Mark Dodd (North West)

Chris Cayton on the BNP election leaflet that postal workers refused to deliver

The last post

ELECTION NEWS

FROM EDINBURGH to Somerset, Huddersfield to London, postal workers refused to distribute the British National Party's racist election leaflets. Defying management threats and intimidation, members of the Communication Workers Union (CWU) took a stand against fascism. Managers reacted furiously, in many instances suspending the workers involved. But time and again they were forced to back down.

The CWU had been concerned about the BNP election leaflets for some time. In January CWU general secretary Derek Hodgson wrote to the Home Secretary expressing the union's opposition. Because the Royal Mail is bound by current law to deliver all election material, the CWU has launched a campaign to amend the Representation of the Peoples Act.

The CWU asked the government to take into consideration the views of its members who are required to deliver this poisonous literature. The union also stressed that many of its members are themselves targets of racists and fascists, as are many of their customers.

The BNP has a number of postal workers in its ranks and was obviously aware of the position the union and its members were taking. In an attempt to limit action, a recent BNP bulletin urged its supporters within the postal service to ensure that "all our fifteen million election addresses are delivered". It also urged its supporters to keep a close watch on extreme left wing postal workers who in the BNP's opinion may interfere with the post.

For many years the CWU has maintained a conscience clause, which allows its members not to deliver material that is considered offensive. As BNP leaflets were delivered to sorting offices around the country, it became clear that many postal workers had decided to invoke this clause.

In Edinburgh postal workers refused to handle the leaflets despite a tough management line. In Huddersfield workers refused to deliver the leaflets and returned them to management. The principled position taken by the Huddersfield workers led to the BNP abandoning all attempts to have its material delivered in West Yorkshire, an area with a significant Asian population.

In Swindon managers suspended a postal worker after she refused to deliver the leaflets. Within minutes of this decision becoming known, the entire workforce walked out in support of their colleague. She was quickly reinstated.

Action was taken in Aberdeen, Bridgewater, Taunton, Sheffield, Slough and Leeds either to refuse to handle the material or to campaign vigorously in support of the union's position. In Bridgewater postal workers voted 98% in favour of a motion to adopt the conscience clause and refuse to deliver BNP literature.

As momentum grew, CWU members at their national conference in Bournemouth put forward an emergency motion in support of members who were refusing to deliver the BNP leaflets. This was an important move as many hard-pressed postal workers were coming under increasing pressure from management. The motion reiterated workers' rights enshrined in the conscience clause and the union's position of defending any postal worker who faced disciplinary action by management.

In a statement from the CWU conference, deputy general secretary John Keggie stated that the victory in Huddersfield was very welcome news. "We hope it will spread to other areas, not only to stop the circulation of the BNP's evil message, but also to take pressure off our members who work in postal deliveries," he continued.

He also reiterated the union's position for a review of the current legislation, which places a legal obligation on the Royal Mail to deliver material not only for legitimate parties, but also for the likes of the BNP.

Management tried to use the absence from the workplace of CWU activists attending their conference as an opportunity to bully other members into delivering the leaflets. However, at Paddington sorting office in London workers remained defiant. As the delivery deadline approached, it became clear that a third of the leaflets would have to be distributed by managers or clerical staff. When management tried this tack, they were met with a resounding "no" from workers.

The action of CWU members and the support from the union's leadership should be applauded. Searchlight calls on other unions to support the CWU's campaign for a change in the current legislation.

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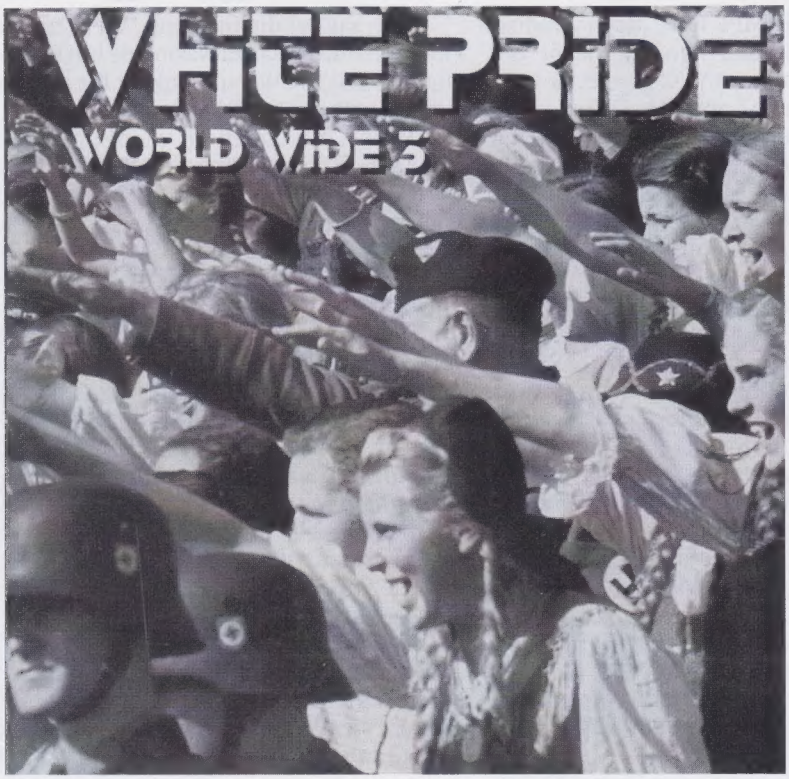
THE BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY'S largest ever election campaign has cost the party a pretty packet. Fortunately American neo-nazis, illegal racist CDs and its long suffering membership were on hand to fill the gap.

The cost of the European election campaign must have run to at least £120,000. Fifty thousand pounds was spent on the deposits for the ten slates, and at least as much again would have been needed for the 15 million leaflets the BNP claimed it was printing. Other costs included the production of the election broadcast, a pamphlet for prospective members and a range of other election expenses. Although the BNP put out an appeal for £80,000, the sum actually needed was substantially higher.

According to its monthly magazine *Spearhead*, the BNP raised over £25,000 from donations sent in to its national headquarters by members and supporters. A further £20,000 was raised by members at a local level by a mixture of jumble sales, fundraising evenings and raffles.

Another £20,000 was raised through the "One hundred and eighty club", set up last year, to which BNP members were encouraged to make a one-off payment of £180 or 12 payments of £15. In addition to the glory of helping the cause, club members were invited to partake in a Christmas buffet!



Illegal nazi CD sales funded the BNP election campaign

This alone was obviously not enough for the BNP. Once again it had to rely on a few very large donations. This time round it seems that John Tyndall, the party leader, dipped into his private funds to donate a five-figure sum, possibly as much as £25,000. It is believed that this "private fund" originates from a bequest under a will, which was left to Tyndall as leader of the BNP. His failure to hand over the full amount has caused no end of consternation within the party.

Almost £3,000 was raised by the American Friends of the BNP, some at meetings attended by members of the neo-nazi National Alliance. Speaking on Radio Four, its organiser Mark Cotterill boasted that there was a lot more to come from this source in the future. Cotterill, who doubles up as the US distributor for *Right Now*, is obviously unaware that overseas funding of political parties is about to be made illegal.

The final source of funds was the ever-lucrative CD music business. As reported last month, BNP activists Richard Fawcus and Mark Penton run Tyr Services as a mail order business. It seems that Tyr Services is simply a fundraising front for the BNP. Over the past year it has advertised several CDs from which the profits have gone to BNP's election campaign.

One such CD was *Our Europe Not Theirs*. The initial run of 1,000 was sold out within six months and a second order for 577 was placed in April. Sales of this CD alone could raise as much as £15,000.

From the archives

20 Years ago July 1979

Obituary: Jagmohan Joshi

On Sunday June 3, Jagmohan Joshi, General Secretary of the Indian Workers Association (Great Britain), collapsed after a heart attack shortly before he was due to speak at a rally he had helped to organise against racialist violence and racialist immigration laws. He was rushed to hospital but suffered a further heart attack and died at 2.30pm.

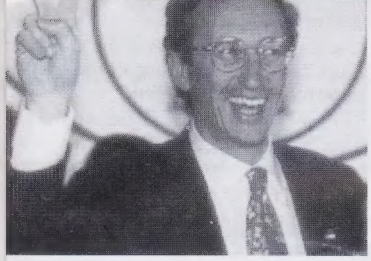
Hi sudden death is a severe blow not only to the IWA but to all opponents of racism and fascism. Unlike some who are deemed leaders of the immigrant community or spokesmen by sections of the media and race relations officials, often on the basis of little substance, Jagmohan Joshi built his reputation not on membership of the right committees but on his involvement and leadership of an organisation with a genuine mass membership.

10 Years ago July 1989

Nowhere to Hyde for skin concert-goers

Some people think that the nazi skinhead movement is synonymous with chaos, but on Saturday 27 May there was a bit more of it than they had planned for ... At 4pm a twenty-strong gang of older skins, some armed with bottles, tried to take over Speakers Corner but were unceremoniously chased away by a group of young anti-fascists. Within minutes fighting broke out on the fringes of the area. When a coach arrived at Hyde Park full of Hitler-saluting thugs, it was rained upon by every conceivable missile including a dustbin which landed on one of the nazis laps ... A thousand anti-fascists in jubilant mood marched victoriously to Trafalgar Square. At about midnight around 100 skins turned up outside South Africa House. But, when an elderly woman told them to clear off, they shuffled away followed by the police.

The anti-fascist movement is now on the offensive. If Benjamin loses his shop [which sold skinhead paraphernalia among other things] and we can close down their future gigs, then Blood & Honour can be finished as a political force on our streets.



The Tory right are trying to realign with European neo-fascists report

The Italia

Alleanza Nazionale leader Gianfranco Fini

BRITISH CONSERVATIVE MPs have been holding secret talks with the Italian neo-fascists of the Alleanza Nazionale (AN) over the past year. At least five meetings have taken place in London and Rome over the formation of the Union for Europe, a new right-wing alliance within the European Parliament. These revelations come at a time when there is increasingly disquiet across most of the Conservative Party about its continuing relationship with the centre-right European People's Party (EPP).

It can also be revealed that the AN's youth wing, the Azione Giovani, already has in a formal link with its Conservative counterparts, Conservative Future. Both are members of the European Young Conservatives (EYC). *Searchlight* can now reveal that cementing the relationship, which is far wider than at first thought, are several former Federation of Conservative Students activists who have now matured to prominent positions within the Conservative milieu.

The story of the secret talks emerged only days before the Conservative Party triumphed in the European elections on a diet of unpleasant Europhobia. While Edward MacMillan Scott, leader of the Conservative MEPs, was quick to dismiss any talk of a tie-up with the AN, accusing the Italians of being "neo-fascist", Conservative Party Central Office is remaining tight-lipped over future alliances within the European Parliament.

A recent publication by the right-wing Bruges Group concluded: "a continued formal relationship between Conservative MEPs and the EPP would be ludicrous". Two of the party's newly elected MEPs, Daniel Hannon and Roger Helmer, have both stated that they do not intend to sit with the EPP, which includes centre-right Christian Democrat groups.

All this is music to the ears of the AN leaders, who have hoped to find international recognition and acceptance by forming the Union of Europe. While it has firmly established itself as a major political party in Italy, with 10 to 15% at elections, 300,000 members, 90 MPs and nine MEPs, the AN has found international connections more difficult. On entering the European Parliament in the eighties it immediately joined the far-right grouping that included Le Pen's Front National. However, it was to be a short-lived exercise as the election of the German Repulikaner MEPs in 1989 led to so much friction over the disputed South Tyrol region that the AN withdrew.

In the Eurosceptic right the AN has found friends. According to leading AN officials at least five meetings have taken place between the AN and Eurosceptics. In one instance, some time last year, AN leader Gianfranco Fini travelled to London in the company of two of his MEPs to meet Bill Cash MP at the headquarters of his European Foundation.

Cash said of the incident: "We're not in a formal relationship with Alleanza Nazionale but we are certainly having discussions. We are looking for a degree of common ground with other anti-federalists."

What Cash failed to mention was the European Foundation's other links to the AN. The Foundation's Director is Andrew Rosindell, a former Federation of Conservative Student activist and now a councillor in Havering. In an email posted on the AN website, Rosindell announced: "I am very proud to be associated with Azione Giovani".

The European Foundation's two Italian representatives, Marco Respinti and Emiliano Carlucci, are both activists in the AN, as was the group's Swedish contact, Bruno Tiozzo, when he lived in Italy. When Respinti is not working as a journalist for the AN newspaper *Il Secolo d'Italia* he is penning articles for the British far-right magazine *Right Now*. Carlucci juggles his job as Head of Office for the European Foundation in Rome with his role as the vice-president of Azione Giovani.

The AN's attempts to ingratiate itself with British Conservatives seems to be working. In May last year Azione Giovani was welcomed into the EYC and representatives from Conservative Future attended an AN-sponsored conference in Treviso. In a statement to the conference, AN leader Fini said that the Azione Giovani's admittance to the EYC was "a very important moment" for the Italian right.

The official Conservative Party representative to the EYC is Russell Walters, the campaigns chief for Paul Sykes's Democracy Movement. The former EYC chairman is none other than Andrew Rosindell.

While it may come as no surprise that some Eurosceptics are keen to seek new alliances away from the Euro-friendly EPP, these revelations highlight the growing prominence of former Federation of Conservative Students (FCS) activists in today's Conservative Party. This younger generation has replaced the old Conservative right, such as Tony Marlow, Nick Budgen and Bill Walker, many of whom lost their seats at the last election.

Politically more mature than in their provocative FCS days, when they called for the legalisation of heroin and wore "Hang Nelson Mandela" t-shirts, they are certainly more influential. Some have now become Conservative MPs, while several others have found themselves in prominent positions within the anti-EU campaigns.

John Bercow was chairman of the FCS when it was closed down by Norman Tebbitt for its extremism but now is a highly ambitious MP for Buckingham. John Hayes is MP for South Holland and Deepings. In 1983 he courted controversy at Nottingham University when he was reported as saying: "You can have counted the people on campus unpopular than myself on the fingers of a

n the Conservative Party
s Nick Lowles

an Job

thalidomide's hand". Three years earlier he opposed a motion condemning apartheid and invited the information attaché of the South African embassy to the university for a meeting on apartheid.

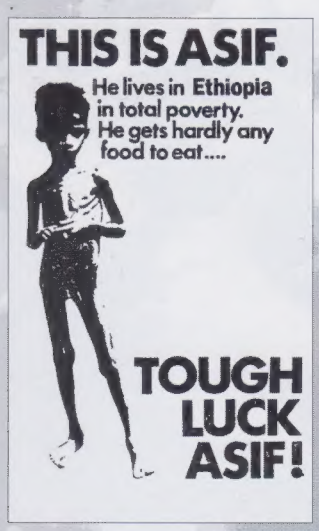
Joining Rosindell and Walters in the anti-European movement is Marc Henri Glendening, the current co-ordinator of the Democracy Movement. Back in the eighties Glendening was one of the FCS's most fanatical libertarian activists. In 1983 he was reported saying: "It is the right of any man to discriminate against blacks if he so wishes". He went on to become the research director of the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies.

Slightly less prominent but equally influential are the former FCS activists who have been involved in the far-right magazine *Right Now*. This group includes Allan Robertson and Stuart Millson. In 1986, when Millson left the Conservatives for the BNP, Robertson wrote to his friend to plead with him to change his mind. Understanding the reasons for his decision, Robertson told Millson that it was more useful to fight for the nationalist cause inside the Tory party.

Roberston went on to admit links to the BNP himself. "I have met a couple of their members and have met their [Edinburgh] leader Eric Brand socially. I find that a general liaison can be helpful."

Today *Right Now* has replaced the *Salisbury Review* as the philosophical journal on the Conservative right. It has had links to over 20 Conservative MPs, including the shadow Trade and Industry Secretary John Redwood, who spoke at a *Right Now* meeting last summer. The magazine has been at the forefront of attempts to bring racial eugenics back into the political mainstream.

With the former FCS activists dominating the new generation of Conservative politicians, the links with the AN are not only hardly surprising but likely to continue. Although the Conservative Party has asked the EYC for a report on the AN's involvement, little looks set to change. While the AN may get quietly dropped, the FCS activists will continue to play an ever-more important role in the Conservative Party and the right-wing anti-Europe crusade.



Federation of Conservative Students leaflet distributed at the LSE in the 1980s

Right Now

IF ANYONE from Conservative Central Office had bothered to attend the latest *Right Now* meeting they might finally have decided to act against the far-right magazine. Crude racism and antisemitism were openly on display as 60 people came to hear Jared Taylor, editor of *American Renaissance*.

It was the latest in a long string of meetings held by *Right Now*, which purports to support the Conservative Party. Since 1996 over a dozen Conservative MPs have addressed meetings, including one last June which attracted the Shadow Trade and Industry Minister as its key speaker.

Race was the central theme of the latest meeting, with Taylor asking whether white culture can survive at all within multiculturalism. "I am of white European stock," he announced proudly. That, he continued, defined his identity. "Nations are defined by racial origins not by lines on maps. Nations are like groups of people, they are like extended families."

Taylor, as one might expect, was totally against the notion of a multicultural society. "In the US a multicultural neighbourhood can be defined when the first black person moves in and the last person moves out."

Bringing cheers from the audience he continued: "Multiculturalism doesn't exist except through media images. There is a media conspiracy. It's been happening for years, a conspiracy to destroy white society."

Taylor refused to get drawn into who was behind this conspiracy. "There is more research needed into this," he told the 60-strong audience. They were less shy, blaming it on the Jews.

The meeting was held at the Institute of Civil Engineers rather than the House of Lords as had been advertised. It had been cancelled after the *Jewish Chronicle* brought the nature of the meeting and its audience to the attention of Black Rod. Derek Turner, the former nazi who edits *Right Now*, was not impressed. "No doubt a certain magazine was behind it," he fumed.

Taylor is a key player on the American far right, linked simultaneously to the right-wing Council of Conservative Citizens and the nazi National Alliance. *American Renaissance* regularly carries articles from leading eugenecists such as Phillipe Rushton and far-right Conservatives such as Sam Francis.

When challenged on *Right Now*, Conservative Party Central Office refused to comment. When told that Andrew Hunter MP was a patron of *Right Now* and that several other MPs had addressed meetings, a spokesman simply said: "It's a private matter for them. If MPs take a private engagement then it's not a matter for us."

Sam King asks if there is a future for Britain's largest postwar fascist group

National Front RIP?

1998

1983

HOW TIMES have changed. It was only a few years ago that the British National Party (BNP) was the junior partner on the nazi right. The National Front, though smaller than it was in the 1970s, was still the dominant force within British nationalism. Today, while the BNP stood a complete slate in England and Scotland in the recent European elections the NF could not muster a single candidate. A party that once had 17,000 members, and attracted hundreds of thousands of votes across the country, is on the brink of extinction.

Its decline can be charted from the battle of Lewisham in 1977 when anti-racists took to the streets to oppose the NF from parading its hatred through south east London. Although the march went ahead, the NF's lasting association with violence horrified more respectable supporters, many of whom had attended the demonstration for the first time. When the NF national organiser Martin Webster spoke of the NF kicking its way into the headlines, many supporters fled in disgust. And Margaret Thatcher gave them a more respectable channel for their racism.

As the NF declined, splits ravaged what was left. In 1979 Andrew Fontaine left the NF to form the National Front Constitutional Movement, while in the same year another NF splinter group, the British Democratic Party, was set up. A year later John Tyndall left to form the New National Front which, two years later, became the BNP.

In 1983 Martin Webster, the then NF chairman, was forced out by a younger group of activists who were heavily influenced by the Italian Julius Evola. This sent the NF into the political wilderness, as it developed Third Position policies that saw it attempt to form strange alliances with Colonel Gaddafi, Ayatollah Khomeini and the Nation of Islam. Many members were not happy with this political trajectory and there were further splits in 1986 and 1989.

The NF of today has few organic links with the organisation of the seventies. Indeed, the group using the name today was only formed in 1995 after Ian Anderson, then leader of the NF, changed its name to the National Democrats. The diehards who split from Anderson and retained the NF name were hardly among the most effective political operators around. Indeed, it has been said that John McAuley only decided to become leader because no one else would take on the job.

McAuley has led the party since 1995. During this period the NF has targeted refugees and the IRA in a succession of demonstrations, rallies and meetings. Despite attracting an increasing number of skinheads the NF has recruited few new people to its ranks. By last year its membership was down to little over 100 people, a miserable indictment on its effectiveness. The policy of street confrontation and provocation alienated virtually everyone outside its existing orbit.

Three months ago an NF march in Kidderminster attracted no more than 40 people. Even McAuley was absent. He seems to be increasingly demoralised with events, not helped by the nickname "John the Jew" that some of the south London activists have given him.

The West Midlands branch has surrendered much of the region to the BNP without so much as a fight. In an area which became synonymous with NF activity in the late seventies, the local NF can hardly muster 15 people for branch meetings.

Wayne Ashcroft, who led the regional group for several years, has also left the NF. At first it seemed that he had gone over to the BNP but now it appears that he has dropped out of politics altogether. That leaves party stalwarts Norman Tomkinson and John Lord in charge, though neither can be considered effective organisers.

Another NF leader who is about to be removed from the scene is Terry Blackham, as he is on a charge of assaulting a police officer. In Bridlington, Kevin Watmough has also left, deciding to spend more time with Combat 18. In Liverpool, the NF branch has defected to the BNP.

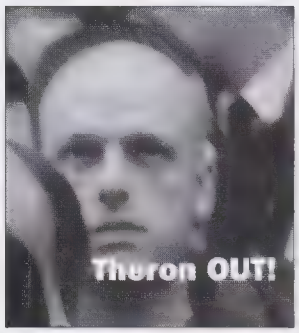
The only area of the country with any real NF activity is in Leicestershire, where a branch has recently been formed. The branch is awash with money, which is more than can be said for the party as a whole. It is led by former Klan activist Mick Shore from Hinckley.

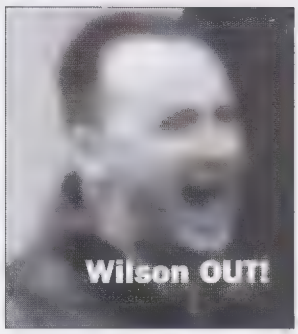
Early this year the NF promised to stand candidates in at least two of the ten European election regions and perhaps even a third if money permitted. A recent members bulletin issued in March reiterated that this was the intention. However, as nominations closed there was not a single candidate.

The future looks bleak for the NF. A buoyant BNP is increasingly dominating the far right, eating into the NF's only areas of support. The NF can do little to retaliate. To survive they at least need a skilled leadership and money. At present they have neither.

Searchlight UPDATE!

Nazi soldiers given the boot





TWO SOLDIERS linked with Combat 18 (C18) have recently been thrown out of the British Army. Darren Theron was dismissed from the Parachute Regiment and Karl Wilson from the King's Regiment.

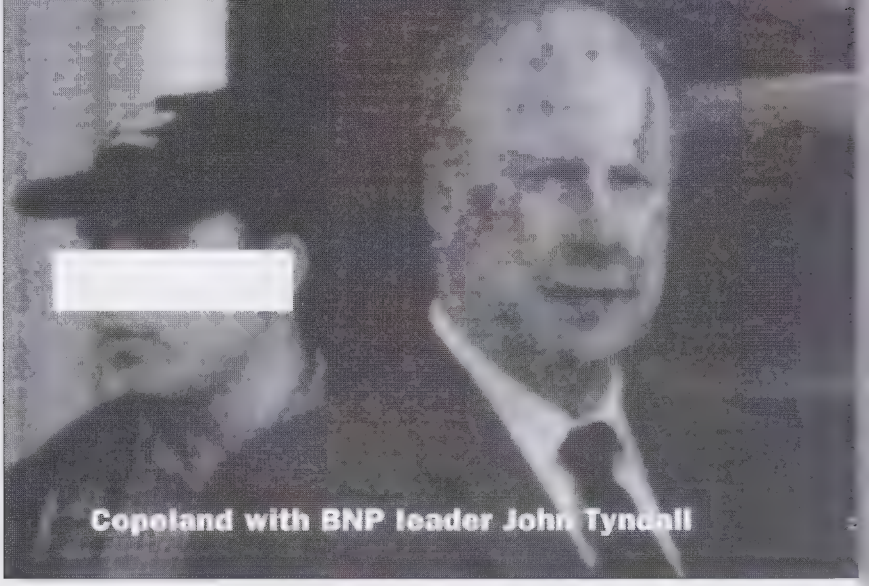
The two were among 12 soldiers whose nazi links were revealed in the March issue of Searchlight. Some had strong links with loyalist paramilitary groups.

Despite an internal investigation nine months before the Searchlight story appeared, the Army had failed to act. It seems that it was finally forced to move against Theron and Wilson after media and political pressure following Searchlight's revelations.

However it seems it was not Wilson's links to C18 but more mundane criminality that may have caused his downfall. On 10 May, Wilson was sentenced to 220 hours' community service by Liverpool Crown Court after being found guilty of actual bodily harm and intimidating behaviour.

Their dismissal is a vindication of Searchlight's original story, for which it was condemned by the authorities. Rather than dealing with its own nazis, the Army seemed more interested in finding the source of Searchlight's information.

Questions remain, notably what is the Army doing about Mark Taylor and other soldiers from the King's Regiment linked to C18? The Army remains tight-lipped.


Copeland with BNP leader John Tyndall

BNP in denial

OH HOW they squirmed! The British National Party was caught on the hop by the revelations in *Searchlight* and *The Mirror* of the links to the party of the alleged nail bomber, David Copeland. A three-page story in *The Mirror*, in the middle of the European election campaign, threw the BNP into turmoil and cover-up.

Until that sensational scoop, the BNP had loudly protested its innocence over the London nail bombings, which left three people dead and dozens injured. As reported in last month's *Searchlight*, the BNP blamed everyone but itself. It even claimed that the bombings were the work of the state as a means to undermine the BNP in the run-up to the elections or of another nazi group jealous of its success.

Even after Copeland had been arrested, the BNP continued to deny any connection. Indeed, it took great joy out of repeating the initial police line that the alleged bomber had no right-wing links. If it had not been for Searchlight's exposé, then it would no doubt have kept to this story.

The BNP's silence over Copeland's membership says more about the party itself than it does about the actual bombings. For all its condemnation of the bombings, the BNP seemed unwilling to reveal Copeland's identity to the police or his association with the party. It speaks volumes for the BNP's supposed new respectability.

When the BNP link was eventually caught out, it immediately changed tack. Party spokesman Michael Newland now seems only too willing to spill the beans to the press, only this time in order to pass the buck onto other nazi groups. There is no room for nazi solidarity here it seems.

Dismissing Copeland's links to the BNP as insignificant – he only came to a couple of meetings – Newland has been telling journalists that they should really be concentrating on its nazi rivals. Just to be helpful, he and other BNP leaders have even suggested names journalists might like to contact. One paper seemingly keen to take up the BNP's story is The Sun.

As *Searchlight* goes to press, the BNP has belatedly written about Copeland. In an extremely long and tedious diatribe, Nick Griffin, the party's second-in-command, delves deep into Copeland's conspiratorial and twisted mind. "Perhaps it was the Zionists," he ponders, "or even the State". He even suggests that it might have been the fault of the left, with the alleged-bomber being so horrified at witnessing the beating given out to John Tyndall in east London.

Unsurprisingly, Griffin cannot find the BNP in any way at fault. While he admits Copeland was briefly involved with the party in east London in 1997, he goes on to say "he vanished as quickly as he appeared". Just for good measure, Copeland is dismissed as a loner and a deranged crank.

As Griffin concludes: "there's more to this than meets the eye". Oh there certainly is, Mr Griffin, and when the trial is over Searchlight intends to make sure everyone knows the true relationship between the alleged bomber and the BNP.

in brief...

Trade unions close Pat Robertson's bank account

BRITISH TRADE unions dealt a blow against US evangelist Pat Robertson when they, together with other organisations, forced the Bank of Scotland to pull out of a deal with the reactionary preacher. The move came in the wake of a public outcry after Robertson described Scotland as a dark land dominated by homosexuals on his US television show.

The bank had intended to set up a direct banking operation in the USA through Robertson's religious television channel. Robertson had been appointed as chairman of the new venture, through which the bank wanted to use his millions of followers as a customer base for its first big step into the US market.

After hearing of the bank's plans the Manufacturing Science and Finance union withdrew from a planned credit card deal with the bank that would have been marketed to its 420,000 members. MSF General Secretary Roger Lyons said: "Our basic philosophy as a union is to promote tolerance in society. We cannot remain associated with a financial institution that appears to take this principle so lightly. We will be seeking an alternative service for our members."

The Scottish Trades Union Congress threatened to withdraw the business of 100,000 of its members who use a Bank of Scotland affinity card.

The new Scottish Parliament also looked likely to withdraw its account as did the West Lothian Council, all putting considerable pressure on the bank.

The bank acknowledged that up to 500 people switched their accounts to other banks during the controversy. At one point the bank's share price dropped by almost 4%.

Five days after the Bank of Scotland severed its links Robertson faced further humiliation at the annual general meeting of the British fashion and fabric retailer Laura Ashley, when members of the Ashley family voted against him remaining on the board.

The gay rights group Outrage had threatened to take action against Laura Ashley if Robertson remained on the board. Robertson owns more than two million shares in the group.

Racist shooting in London

On the evening of 1 June at about 9.45pm shots were fired at a Mexican artist while he was cycling in Bermondsey in southeast London.

As he came to the junction there was a loud bang from behind some bushes and a bullet whistled past his ears. Four white youths then fled from the scene but the artist followed them and got a good look at their faces.

As the youths disappeared they hurled racist abuse. Aged between 17 and 21, they wore tracksuits and one was holding a motorcycle helmet. A motorcycle picked him up while most of the rest were picked up in a car. Police arrived quickly and recovered the gun.

The skilled portrait artist memorised the gang's faces and reproduced them later for identification(above).

Kosovo letter 'a racist hoax'

A Rochester man was sent a racist hoax letter which told him that he had to house Kosovan refugees in his one-bedroom flat.

The letter, which purported to come from Rochester upon Medway city council, said that he was required to take one family into his home, consisting of two adults and three infants.

The recipient said: "I was annoyed about it; it's a bit of a sick joke. I thought it was a joke when I read it at first but I went straight to the council to find out if it was true."

The council informed him that it was a fake.

A spokesman for Medway Council said: "This letter is a tasteless hoax. It is sent under the heading of Medway billeting department, which does not exist, and it appears to be authorised by Rochester upon Medway council, which disappeared more than a year ago."

Asylum bill goes through

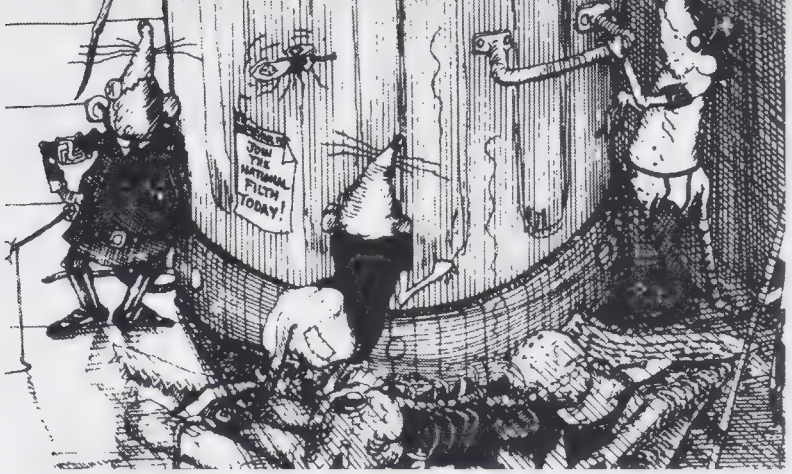
The Government averted a major backbench revolt in the Commons over plans for asylum seekers.

Despite backbench Labour criticism of a proposed voucher system, due to replace cash benefits, the Immigration and Asylum Bill cleared the Commons by 310 votes to 41; a Government majority of 269. Seven Labour MPs voted against the Bill's third reading.

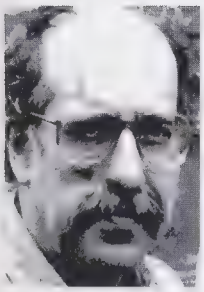
The legislation will now go to the Lords.

In an hour long speech Home Secretary Jack Straw offered concessions including an increase in the cash allowance for each adult and child and extra staff to speed the application process along.

Anti-racists are concerned that a voucher system will stigmatise asylum seekers.



News from the sewers



Gerry Gable writes

From cinematography to kidology: the BNP election broadcast

AFTER THE disastrous fiasco of the very poor quality video made for distribution in east London during last year's local elections, the British National Party decided to replace Barnaby James Ore, the boy wonder who had cobbled it together, with a genuine film maker. It was to be the BNP's answer to Ingmar Bergman: Paul Jonsson, alias Paul Henderson from Surrey.

Jonsson's day job is with Associated Press Television News, which explains why he's always been touchy about his identity, even using his false name on his Euro-election nomination forms.

But real control over the making of this new epic was firmly in the hands of the party's Svengali, its Director of Publicity and heir apparent to the leadership, Nick Griffin.

When ideas for the election video were discussed at a series of secretive meetings some wags thought Griffin ought to be making a nature film, instead of what turned out to be a rather mundane end product. The jokes were a reference to Griffin's occupation as a pig farmer and his deep knowledge of animal husbandry.

The video that the BNP conned the television companies into screening in England and Scotland was a very low key affair. In fact the party was not entitled to the broadcast because it had not legally put up the required 79 candidates, up to 15 of them being in breach of electoral rules.

The video opened with the disgusting sight of John Tyndall, the decrepit old BNP leader and worshipper of Adolf Hitler, standing at the Cenotaph in Whitehall, the memorial to the nation's dead in two world wars. Everyone knows that Tyndall stands in front of his bathroom mirror every morning mimicking speeches of the dead Blackshirt leader, Sir Oswald Mosley. Usually he only gets to show off for real in front of the 30 or so members who attend a BNP branch meeting and his 300-odd followers at the annual rally. But now he had a potential audience of millions of viewers – though possibly only those who watch the BBC, as ITV had moved the BNP from a prime tea time slot to nearly midnight after protest demonstrations outside TV studios up and down the country.

But back to act one, scene one, a sequence of people passing behind Tyndall's back guffawing at the Pythonesque performance taking place in front of the camera. One man laughed so much he nearly choked on his Big Mac. Whether they were bemused at Tyndall's weird attempt at oratory or his ill-fitting suit is unclear. Someone should have a word with Tyndall and Griffin about getting a decent Jewish tailor to tidy them up.

Then it was full spin into the nationwide confidence trick, when an assortment of BNP Euro-candidates were trotted out as ordinary members of the public who had decided to vote for the party.

Chris Jackson, a North West region candidate, was paraded as Chris the van driver. Griffin's mum, Jean, a candidate in London, got the role of the put-upon pensioner. In reality most pensioners could live on just the interest she draws on her substantial bank accounts, from which she pays for airline tickets and accommodation for her son's overseas racist visitors.

Entering briefly into the technological age, we saw Simon Darby, the West Midlands candidate and computer operator, followed by farmer Terry Cavill, standing in the South West, playing a traditional village idiot.

Sharron Edwards, a West Midlands candidate, who recently appeared on TV as a gaping-mouthed starlet in the BBC documentary The Lost Race, delivered a very stunted performance as the hausfrau of the movie. She was there to represent "the family" but one wonders why her husband Steve's election nomination forms show a different address than the matrimonial home.

A ruddy-cheeked Griffin laid down the law centre stage. He might have been better advised not to remove his eye patch, which at least gave him a bit of the Nelson touch. Viewers were left to wonder whether he had been at the home made dandelion wine or had been dragged through a briar patch.

Then it was back to old misery guts Tyndall doing his one-man performance of the leaning tower of Pisa. Many Searchlight readers have wondered why Tyndall always tilts to one side when interviewed. After nearly four decades of dodging brickbats, from without and within his party, it is hardly a surprise that the pose has become permanent.

And there it was: a perfect rendition of the Monty Python bigot sketch, missing only the knotted hanky on his head. You could almost hear the parting words "well, I am potty," one of the more charitable descriptions of "Old Jackboots".

Although the BNP has been preparing for these elections for many years, only massive cheating got the broadcast screened. Griffin has spent two years lecturing members on how they must not fail to follow up all the inquiries they get from viewers. Tyndall had prepared a brochure to send out to potential new members only to have it vetoed by Griffin.

In 1997 the BNP ended the year with fewer members than at the start, despite the supposed large number of enquiries received as a result of the fascists' general election campaign. Roll on the repeat.

NORWAY

Graeme Atkinson reports from the Arctic Circle

SITUATED 500 miles north of the Arctic Circle, the Norwegian city of Tromsø is one of the northernmost urban areas in the world. With temperatures below freezing for over six months of the year and the November to January period clothed in darkness, it is home to one of the best anti-racist organisations in Europe.

The Rainbow Organisation began in 1992 and since then has fought relentlessly to turn Tromsø, a city with a fine history of resistance to wartime German occupation, into a no-go zone for fascists and a bastion of active opposition to the racist asylum policies of the Norwegian authorities.

One of the key activists in Rainbow, whose members come from a cross section of ages and occupations, is Tore Vik. He told Searchlight: "Although we have few fascists here it does not mean we should go to sleep. We have to put the emphasis on anti-racist work." Since 1992, the focal point of Rainbow's work has been to build up church asylums for asylum-seekers.

In theory, the refugees' presence is illegal and, technically, the churches that shelter them could be stormed at any moment by the police. "It does not happen", says Tore, "because politically such behaviour by the state would be a disaster in Tromsø." This is largely because the church asylums have broad support from people in the city.

None of this would have been possible without the hard work of Tore Vik and his comrades in Rainbow or, indeed, without the active support in numerous demonstrations and meetings of Ole Mjoos who, until the end of 1996, was rector of the University of Tromsø.

The first church asylum began with the arrival of a family from Kosovo in January 1993. When word spread, the church was inundated with local supporters who brought food, clothing, bedding and toys for the children.

Since then over 50 asylum-seekers have been sheltered, the refugees coming mainly from Kosovo, Sri Lanka, Kenya and former Yugoslavia. In addition, the anti-racists have gathered money to send to human rights groups within these countries.

An atmosphere of solidarity does not come spontaneously or automatically. It has to be built and Ole Mjoos made a giant contribution to forming a positive attitude to refugees by very publicly declaring the university, one of only four in Norway, an anti-racist zone in the spring of 1992.

Rainbow's activists have welcomed the involvement of local people in the campaign. "People can see for themselves that the refugees are not beggars or swindlers but just ordinary folk like themselves who have fled from the horrors of war and murderous injustice," says Tore. Not only have the asylums never been attacked but other assistance has been forthcoming. In one year, more than £25,000 in cash was donated to the united campaign.

Rainbow has also been keen to support anti-racism outside Norway. In this the relationship with Searchlight has been pivotal. Every winter since 1992, a representative of the magazine visits the city with the latest developments in fascism across Europe. No public meeting has had fewer than 150 in attendance and, in February last year, more than 300 people attended.

Not all Rainbow's anti-fascist activity is so warm. In 1992 and 1993, Rainbow members and supporters stood on the streets in the bitter cold at the height of winter to collect money to send to Searchlight's allies in Berlin. At the height of the nazi violence in Germany, they warned of the dangers of forgetting the Nazi Holocaust.

The success of Rainbow is very simple admits Tore: "We have two basic principles and fight for them. Principle number one is non-sectarianism. We welcome every anti-racist and anti-fascist and exclude work with no organisations. Principle number two is internationalism. We are lucky to have contact with Searchlight and, through it, with its colleagues like Antifaschistisches Info Blatt in Berlin.

"We work closely with Searchlight and, of course with its sister magazine Monitor in Norway. Though we have few fascists here we want people to be aware of the danger," he adds.

If fascists ever dare raise their heads in Tromsø, they "will be smashed politically", says Tore. "There is no place for them here and we are proud of that." Searchlight, too, is proud of its close association with devoted friends like the anti-fascists and anti-racists of Tromsø, the city where, Tore says, "we always win".

Undoubtedly the most devastating attack on the BNP's credil
The Mirror of a photograph of the alleged London nail bombe

ELECTION ANALYSIS

BNP trounced as UKIP

by Nick Lowles

RECRIMINATIONS ARE already beginning to fly within the leadership of the British National Party after its disastrous showing in last month's European elections. The BNP polled a smaller share of the vote than it did in the 1997 general election. Worse still, its anti-EU rival, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), established itself as the fourth party with three MEPs.

The election campaign had been billed as the first stage on the BNP's road to respectability. "The 1999 Euro-election can provide the party with an excellent launch pad into our country's political mainstream," wrote Mark Deavin, in the BNP magazine *Spearhead*. "At the very least, it is likely that the threshold for the return of election deposits will be set so low that we can retain several of them, something which remains an important psychological boost in the eyes of the politically aware public," wrote Nick Griffin in the same publication.

Instead the BNP polled pitifully across the country (see full results on page 19). In total it gained 102,647 votes, a miserly 1% share of the votes cast. This compares poorly with the 1997 general election, when the party stood 56 candidates gaining 1.43% of the vote.

In contrast the UKIP gained over 700,000 votes, taking 7%. More importantly it gained three MEPs, with 144,514 votes (9.70%) in the South East, 111,012 votes (10.65%) in the South West and 88,452 votes (8.9%) in the Eastern region.

Many within the BNP have been surprised by the lacklustre campaign run by the party leaders. Despite talk of mass "fax-outs" to small businesses and headline-grabbing press releases to local newspapers, its campaign spluttered forward with little imagination or coordination. It seemed that the logistical task of printing, distributing and counting out 15 million leaflets consumed most of the activists' time. Even when the leaflets finally reached the postal sorting offices there was no guarantee that they would be distributed. As reported elsewhere in this issue, postal workers across the country refused to deliver the BNP material.

Energy and time were also diverted to deal with the reports of BNP election fraud that swept the national and local media. Based on information supplied by Searchlight, the media coverage only reinforced the popular perception of the BNP as a devious, criminally inclined and dishonest party. It was hardly the image with which the BNP was going to attract wavering Conservative voters.

Undoubtedly the most devastating attack on the BNP's credibility was the publication on the front page of *The Mirror* of a photograph of the alleged London nail bomber standing with the BNP leader, John Tyndall. Again using information supplied by Searchlight, the paper pinned the nazi and violence tag firmly on the BNP.

Normally boastfully of its Media Monitoring Unit's ability to respond and rebut anti-BNP stories in the media, the BNP was surprisingly silent. Its website failed to respond to the nail bomber story, and did little to refute the fraud allegations. Although the BNP complained of left-wing media smears, it had only itself, and its dishonest candidates, to blame.

Griffin in the dock

It is too early to tell what effect this result will have on Griffin's attempts to depose Tyndall as leader, but it is certain to have some impact. Not only was it Griffin who masterminded the BNP's election effort, it was he who long argued the need to stand across the country, even if it was to cost the party in excess of £100,000.

More significantly, it was Griffin who convinced the party to switch activity from the issue of race to opposition to the single currency as a means to attract the elusive "Middle England" vote. Coinciding as it did with the BNP's countryside campaign, the election campaign represented a major shift away from its inner-city "rights for whites" campaign.

Since the general election the BNP has attempted to target disillusioned Conservative voters with a range of cam-

bility was the publication on the front page of
r standing with the BNP leader, John Tyndall.

wins seats

paigns directed at the farming community and small businesses and more recently the "Save Our Sterling" campaign.

The strategy seems to have failed. In the southwest of England, a region of intense BNP activity by supporters of Griffin's "Middle England" approach, the party gained only 0.94% of the vote. Like elsewhere in the country its vote was marginalised by the UKIP and a resurgent anti-European Conservative Party.

Contrary to Griffin's strategy, it was in the inner cities that the BNP received its highest votes. London's East End, Sandwell and Dudley in the West Midlands and the West Yorkshire towns of Halifax, Dewsbury and Bradford polled relatively well for the BNP.

If the size of the UKIP vote was devastating for the BNP, worse still was the fact that the UKIP gained three MEPs. At a BNP leadership conference last year the threat of the UKIP was acutely recognised, the fear being that the election of a UKIP MEP would establish the anti-Europe group as Britain's equivalent to Jean Marie Le Pen's Front National in France, thus further consigning the BNP to the fringes. The nightmare scenario has occurred.

With the UKIP election victory and the increasingly Euro-hostile Conservative Party, the BNP has been pushed out of the anti-Europe debate for the foreseeable future. With more respectable nationalist options available, the prospect of disillusioned Conservatives flocking to the BNP is fanciful. With that door now closed to the BNP, only race remains the party's defining issue.

Returning to race as its central theme may win the party extra support among white working class voters in its traditional urban areas, but it will further alienate the party from respectable "Middle England", which finds the overtly racist politics of the BNP distasteful and violent.

While many "Middle Englanders" might have given immigration as an important reason for leaving the cities in the seventies and eighties (what the BNP describes as white flight), race is no longer an important political issue for them. Many may have supported Enoch Powell 30 years ago, and possibly also the National Front, but it is the European Union, and more specifically the single currency, that is the issue of the early 21st century.

Griffin's strategy of wooing "Middle England" seems doomed to failure in the short term at least. The BNP must now be hoping that the UKIP will not be able to repeat its European election success at local or even national elections. While the UKIP denies it is a single issue group, it will rapidly have to develop a broader range of social and economic policies if it is to retain its support.

The BNP will also be seeking some crumbs of comfort in the rapid rise of the UKIP. During the 1997 general election UKIP candidates gained derisory votes and were regularly beaten by BNP candidates. Two years on and the UKIP vote has risen to 7%. However, the chances of PR being used for general elections in the near future seem remote.

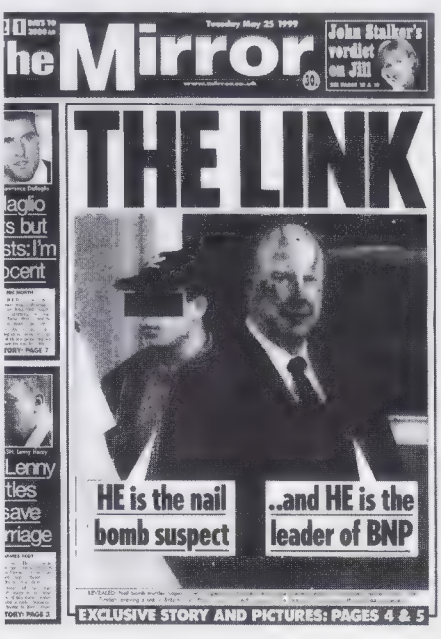
With a BNP leadership battle under way, there seems little respite for a demoralised party. Any new members brought in through the election campaign will soon witness Griffin's challenge to Tyndall. Although Griffin is still expected to win comfortably, his close association with the party's European election debacle will give Tyndall encouragement. The power struggle is likely to become an increasingly bitter and divisive contest.

At a local level BNP branches are in turmoil. Recriminations are flying in the South West, where the two regional organisers, Bruce Cowd and George Jefferies, are being blamed for the party's dreadful campaign. On the day that 600 UKIP supporters gathered in Torquay, BNP members were being turned away from a meeting in Bristol for lack of interest. One or other of the organisers seems destined to be sacked.

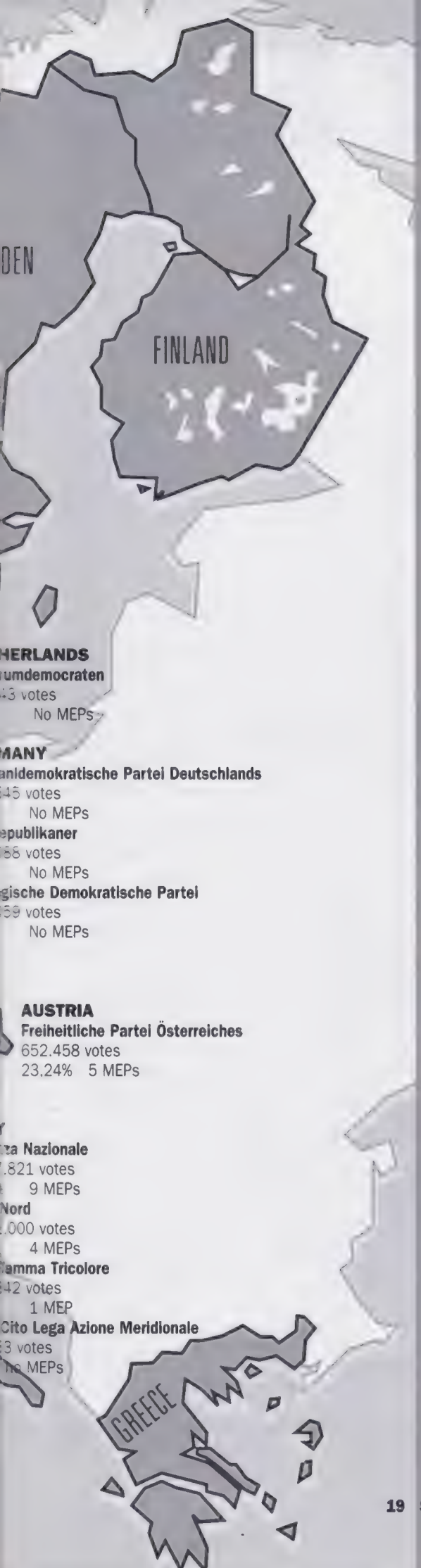
Elsewhere there is widespread unhappiness at the lack of return on the money spent. Over £100,000 was raised for the election campaign and many members are questioning the wisdom of this expenditure. One BNP insider told Searchlight: It would have been more cost effective if we had given £250 to every new member recruited during the campaign. At least we would have got something for our money and saved us from this public drumming at the hands of UKIP."

While the leadership will be keen to present an upbeat message to its members, it is very doubtful whether the BNP will be able to raise such sums for the next general election, which might only be two years away. What set out to be the stepping stone to success may turn out to be nothing more than an extravagant and counter-productive exercise.

Despite the BNP's misery, there is no room for complacency. The success of the UKIP and the Eurosceptic Conservative Party highlight the continuing strength of "Little Englander" nationalism that is still dominant within much of our society. It may not go as far as the open racism of the BNP, but this nationalism is insidious and exclusive. In the name of saving the pound and retaining our culture, these "Little Englanders" will define a narrow Englishness that will undoubtedly touch on race and immigration. In a more subtle way, this can be just as pernicious as the racist policies of the BNP. In the long term, the rise of the respectable right can only add to the legitimacy of nationalist and racist politics.



How the far right fared in the Euro elections



HERLANDS
umdemocraten
3 votes
No MEPs

MANY
anldemokratische Partei Deutschlands
45 votes
No MEPs
epublikaner
58 votes
No MEPs
gische Demokratische Partei
59 votes
No MEPs

AUSTRIA
Freiheitliche Partei Österreiches
652.458 votes
23.24% 5 MEPs

za Nazionale
.821 votes
9 MEPs
Nord
.000 votes
4 MEPs
amma Tricolore
42 votes
1 MEP
Cito Lega Azione Meridionale
3 votes
No MEPs

British National Party
Election results

	Votes	%
ENGLAND		
EASTERN 8 SEATS	**9,356**	**0.94**
David KING		
Paul FERGUSON		
John MORSE		
Ramon JOHNS		
Paul HENDERSON		
Matthew PALMER		
John COPE		
Thomas STONE.		
EAST MIDLANDS 6 SEATS	**9,342**	**1.29**
Steve BELSHAW		
Adrian BELSHAW		
Barry ROBERTS		
Neil PHILLIPS		
Edward SHEPPARD		
Michael COLEMAN		
LONDON 10 SEATS	**17,960**	**1.57**
John TYNDALL		
Kenneth FRANCIS		
Paul BORG		
Michael DAVIDSON		
Valerie TYNDALL		
Jean GRIFFIN		
Ruth TAGG		
Michael CAREY		
Christopher JURY		
Mark TOINTAN.		
NORTH EAST 4 SEATS	**3,505**	**0.91**
Alan GOULD		
John BOWLES		
Ian WILSON		
Colin SMITH		
NORTH WEST 10 SEATS	**13,587**	**1.34**
Christian JACKSON		
Roger WOOD		
David BLEZARD		
Michael COPE		
Mark DODD		
Lee BARNES		
Anthony HODSON		
William HITCHES		
Brian WINN		
Geoffrey BARNES		
SOUTH EAST 11 SEATS	**12,161**	**0.82**
Michael EASTER		
Arthur WHITING		
Robert ANDREWS		
Gordon CALLOW		
Mark CRAY		
Ian DELL		
Matthew GOULD		
Richard MOLESWORTH		
Margaret STONE		
Christopher TELFORD		
Kevin YATES.		
SOUTH WEST 7 SEATS	**9,752**	**0.94**
Bruce COWD		
Donald STEVENS		
Stephen PARNELL		
Terence CAVILL		
Barbara PACKER		
Peter HART		
George JEFFREY		
WEST MIDS 8 SEATS	**14,344**	**1.69**
Sharron EDWARDS		
Simon DARBY		
Stephen EDWARDS		
Jeffrey ASTBURY		
Keith AXON		
Stephen BATKIN		
Tommy ROGERS		
John HAYCOCK		
YORKS & HUMBER 7 SEATS	**8,911**	**1.20**
Richard MULHALL		
Adrian MARDSEN		
Graham COOK		
Christopher WARD		
Paul WILSON		
Ronald SMITH		
Jay LEE		
SCOTLAND 8 SEATS	**3,729**	**0.38**
Kenneth SMITH		
Scott MCLEAN		
Russell BRADLEY		
Mark ALLEN		
Paul WILKINSON		
Robert CURRIE		
David KERR		
James MILLS		

Far-right Euro setback

by Graeme Atkinson

ELECTION ANALYSIS

THE ELECTIONS to the European parliament in mid-June proved to be an across-the-board setback for fascists in the EU.

Only in Belgium and Denmark did the extreme right chalk up anything remotely resembling success, while in Germany, Austria, Italy, The Netherlands and Sweden, far-right parties achieved results far below their expectations.

Even in Belgium, although the fascists increased their vote from 10.7% to 11.2% they actually lost one of their Strasbourg seats. While the Francophone Front National lost its sole seat after its support dropped from 2.9% to 1.6%, the Flemish nationalist, Vlaams Blok – benefiting from the political and constitutional crises of the Belgian establishment – gained 1.4%, taking its tally to 9.2%, and kept its two seats. The foundations of the bilingual Belgian state are beginning to look decidedly shaky.

In Denmark, the far right, confounding pre-poll forecasts, gained a seat when the Dansk Folkeparti captured 5.8% of the vote for its racist, anti-EU policies. Its successful candidate, Mogens Camre, 63, is a former leading Social-Democrat and sat in the Danish Parliament from 1968 until 1987.

For the fascists that was the end of the good news. Elsewhere, it was a tale of declining votes and lost seats. Nowhere was this more visible than in France where Jean-Marie Le Pen's crisis-wracked, split-damaged and cash-strapped Front National (FN) saw its vote slashed from 10.5% in 1994 to 5.71% in June. The FN will now have only five seats compared with its previous 11, of which one is held by Le Pen and another by Charles de Gaulle, the grandson of former French president.

For Le Pen's former deputy and now bitter opponent Bruno Mégret, the election was an unmitigated disaster and must spell at least a temporary end to his ambitions to replace the FN with his Mouvement National (MN), which only managed to win 3.9% and no seats.

Although the combined FN and MN poll was 8.99%, the most notable feature of the right's performance was the 13.09% and 13 seats won by the hard-right alliance of Charles Pasqua, the former Interior Minister, and the maverick Philippe de Villiers.

Popular support for their hardline anti-immigrant, law and order and anti-EU programme indicates that, although the FN has lost its former strength, the groundswell of support for authoritarian ideas is alive and well and even stronger than before; the combined vote reaching more than 22%.

Fortunately, there is no single party that can bind that support together, a fact that will come as an immense relief to President Jacques Chirac's divided mainstream Gaullists, despite their own loss of five seats.

In both Austria and Italy, where the far right is strongly implanted in both society and national parliaments, the charismatic Jörg Haider's Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) and Gianfranco Fini's Alleanza Nazionale (AN), respectively, saw their votes decline. The FPÖ lost almost 4%, falling to 23.24%, but remains the country's third biggest party, and the AN slid from its 1994 score of 12.5% to 10.3%. The FPÖ lost one seat and the AN two.

Other far-right parties also stood in Italy. Umberto Bossi's separatist Lega Nord got 4.5% and four seats, compared with its 1994 result of 6.6%. Meanwhile, Pino Rauti's MSI-Flamma Tricolore hardline fascist breakaway from the AN gained a seat on the strength of its 1.6% vote.

The drop in support for the AN, together with the 25% vote for media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia, have already had repercussions. Fini, under pressure from the AN's unreconstructed pro-Mussolini fascist rank and file, has tendered his resignation as party leader.

Although it seemed that terrorist Roberto Fiore's Forza Nuovo would field its own list of candidates, the organisation decided to stand as part of Guiseppi Cito's independent panel of candidates, which overall polled a derisory 0.3% Cito, formerly of the MSI, is known as a "Peronista", which fits well with Fiore's support for the fascist "third position".

The deeply-divided German far right also lost support. The nazi Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) polled only 0.4%, but the fact that this represents 107,000 votes may well provide the party with new and bigger recruitment opportunities.

The fascist Republikaner, which held seven European Parliament seats between 1989 and 1994, fared very poorly, its support falling from 3.9% five years ago to 1.7%. Finally, the ultra-right ecologist Ökologische Demokratische Partei polled only 0.4%, indicating that the far right as a whole has failed entirely to capitalise on the deep-seated public frustration at Gerhard Schröder's Social-Democratic-Green coalition.

In The Netherlands and Sweden, although fascist candidates stood in the elections, they made no impact whatsoever, polling pathetically low votes and confirming their place on the lunatic fringe.

Overall, the extreme right will occupy a mere 27 seats – 40 if the Pasqua alliance gains are included – in the 626-seat Strasbourg assembly. It is highly improbable, however, that this disparate rag-bag will be able to weld itself together into a single voting bloc.

This European election has witnessed many losers, the fascists among them. For the former socialist majority, the poll, with the exceptions of France and Austria, marked a big defeat and a general shift towards the centre-right.

If there is a single explanation of the lower than expected results obtained by the far right it is probably

the fact that its campaigns lacked professional competence or enthusiasm or cash or, in some cases, a combination of these. In Germany, the only publicity achieved by the fascists was the rather negative image of NPD-mobilised boneheads bawling nazi slogans on street demonstrations.

The AN in Italy and the FPÖ in Austria, which have both accumulated considerable electoral experience, failed to get their shows on the road. The AN was outflanked by Berlusconi and, for once, the FPÖ was bettered by the Socialists who stole its clothes with a campaign that strongly emphasised Austrian neutrality, a resonant theme in the light of the conflict going on a missile journey away in Yugoslavia.

Despite his losses, Haider was not particularly worried, declaring that the results were "not a defeat for the FPÖ but a new beginning". This is probably correct in so far as the FPÖ is unlikely to be hurt by a drop in its vote and will step up its campaigns within the national political arena.

In France, the fascist campaign was severely hindered by a court decision that froze the funds of both the FN and the MN. The unaccustomed lack of funds curtailed both factions' ability to fight effective campaigns. With Pasqua throwing his Eurosceptic hat into the ring, those voters on the right who might have voted FN had a ready vehicle to express their opposition to what they see as endemic "Euro-corruption".

Other factors undoubtedly played a part. The very low turnouts signify a widespread feeling among large numbers of voters that the European Parliament, which cannot make any legislative decisions, is irrelevant to their concerns. Clearly the fascists, as well as the anti-EU left, failed to exploit this situation.

In some European countries it was difficult to discern any evidence of an election campaign. The elections were marked by lack of interest, which was represented by the all-time low poll. In Britain, the turnout was a pitiful 23%, in Italy, it was barely 50%, in Germany it was below 50% and in France 53% of voters abstained, the biggest abstention rate in an election for more than 20 years.

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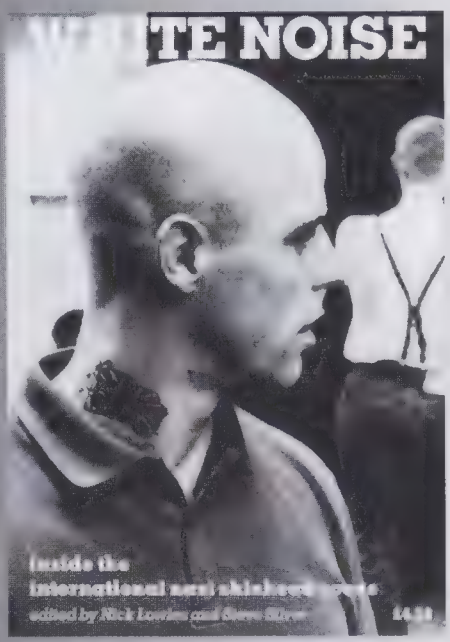


Kosovan nigh is BNP's drea

by Steve Silver

THE SERIES of disasters in the form of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, carried out by various groups, is deplored by all decent humanity. But for the BNP a programme of killings and deportations is something to be supported. The nightmare of barbarism and the atrocities carried out against the Kosovo Albanians in particular are the BNP's dreams come true.

While many people opposed the Nato action against Yugoslavia because they believed it was the wrong strategy for dealing with the ethnic violence in Kosovo, the BNP opposed the action because it believed that ethnic cleansing is a good thing.

It has taken the war in Kosovo for the BNP to reveal what kind of programme it would put into action should it ever gain power. The April edition of John Tyndall's *Spearhead* explains:

"And what is actually happening in Kosovo? The area has for centuries been part of the territory of Serbia. Over recent decades ethnic Albanians have been moving into it, rather as ethnic Mexicans have been moving into the South Western states of the U.S.A. and indeed ethnic groups of numerous origins have been moving into certain areas of urban Britain ... Another parallel and possible a closer one with the British situation might be found in respect of Northern Ireland. There catholics, on account of a higher birth-rate, have come to predominate in certain areas. As they have done so, the more militant among them have carried out acts of ethnic cleansing against the local protestant population ... This is exactly what has been happening in the Kosovo region of Serbia, with the ethnic Albanians playing the same role as the catholic-republican fifth column in Ulster ... But there is a vital difference. The Serbs are a proud tough people."

The May *Spearhead* carried on in the same vein:

"The Serbs' real crime isn't the harshness with which they have expelled so many of the Albanian Muslims who having become the majority in the Kosovan heart of Serbia by a mixture of immigration, a high birth-rate, and low-level ethnic cleansing of the native Serbs ... No! The real crime in the eyes of the powerful advocates of a multi-racial New World Order is for any people to demand the right to preserve their own identity and freedom in the land which they inherited from their forefathers, and which they hold in trust for their unborn descendants. That is what is really the issue in Kosovo."

What repatriation really means

Searchlight readers may think it obvious that the BNP would be filled with glee at the sight of truckloads of refugees being forced to leave their homes, but it is hardly the image the party has been trying to project. In fact for years this has been the kind of image with which anti-

Ethnic Albanian men from Kosovo ride on a bus into Kukes, Albania, after they crossed the border following their release from prison

fascists have successfully associated the BNP, and that the BNP has been trying to shake off.

One important development for the fascists has been the start of a discussion around the policy of compulsory repatriation of non-white immigrants into Britain. The party intends to ditch its compulsory repatriation policy in the near future, so that it will be harder to pin the nazi label on it successfully.

Nick Griffin, the BNP's leader-in-waiting, argued in the November 1998 *Spearhead* that the repatriation policy should be changed so that the BNP can go to the electorate with a programme of halting immigration and sending illegal immigrants back. After a successful term in office the BNP would then carry the programme further through a policy of voluntary repatriation. After that he claims the party will look at the numbers that are left and make a decision on what should be done, with compulsory repatriation of non-whites being one of the possible options.

Of course in reality the BNP would do what all fascists have done when they take power: implement a reign of terror. Griffin shows just how cynical this manoeuvre is when he ended his article (supposedly quoting Lenin) with the words: "There is no political cunning which cannot be overcome by greater political cunning". In the light of the BNP's inability to hide its support for ethnic cleansing, it appears now that there is no greater political cunning that cannot be overcome by exposure to the truth!

Tyndall, the BNP leader, writing on compulsory repatriation in the November 1998 *Spearhead*, complained:

"Public perception of the final phase of a repatriation programme – families dragged kicking and screaming from their homes; soldiers with riot shields; babies being thrown onto open backed trucks – is of course a quite ridiculous one based on dishonest media conditioning."

The problem for the BNP is that this is exactly what it supports in Kosovo and wishes to happen elsewhere. Is there any greater fantasy for a BNP member than to be a paramilitary carrying out executions and the rounding up of racial and political opponents as has happened in the Balkans? No amount of clever articles and exercises in sophistry over exactly how Britain would become white can change the fact that given the chance this is what the fascists have in store for Britain.

Support for ethnic cleansing and Holocaust denial

With the passage of time dimming memories of the Holocaust, the BNP hopes that the Nazis' bestial crimes and the extermination camps will be forgotten. Its main strategy for helping this along has been to publish material denying the Holocaust. In reality few of them doubt that the Holocaust took place, their only complaint being that the job was not finished. But recognising how unpalatable this is, especially to the people they wish to attract if they are to widen their support, they opt for claiming that it did not happen.

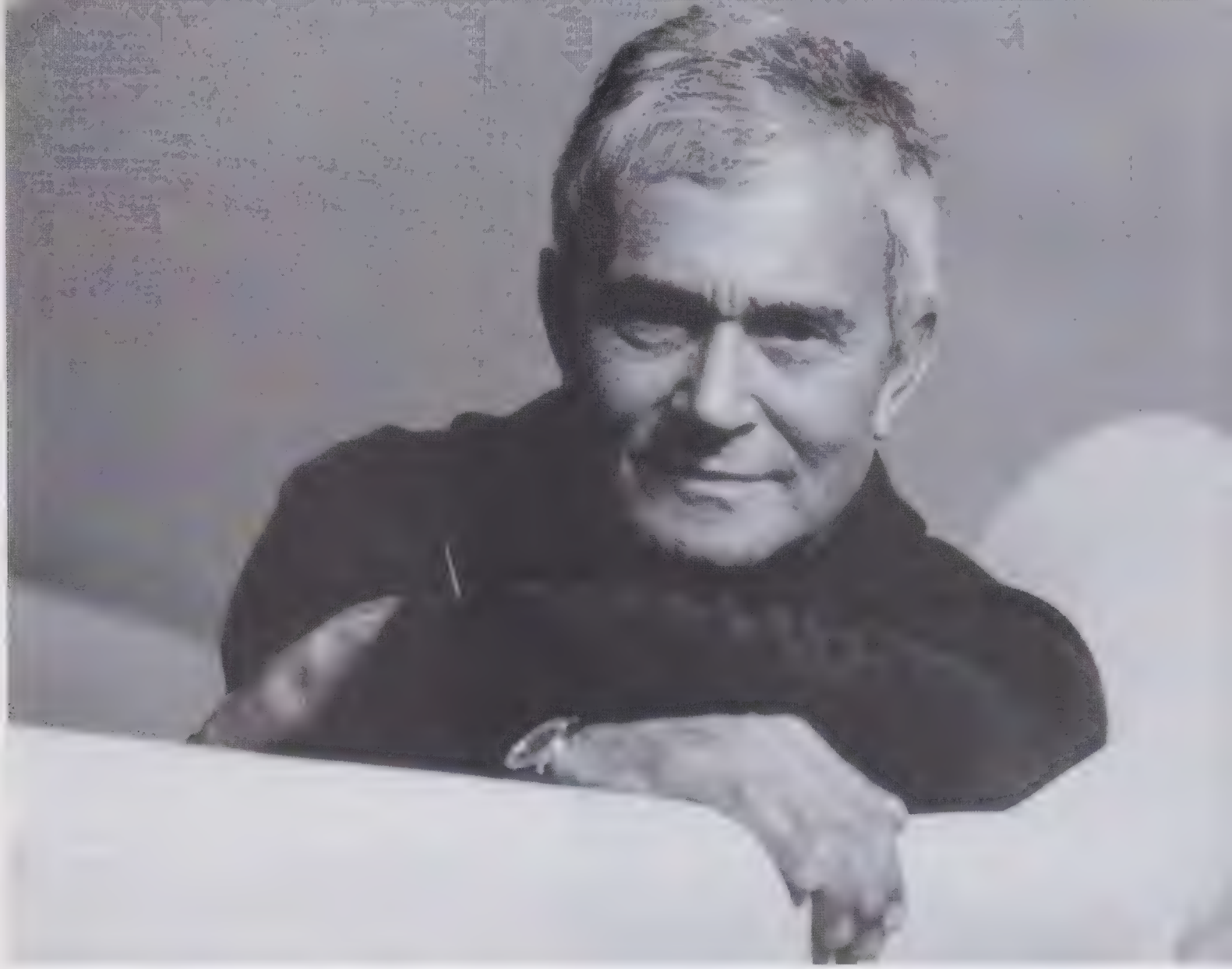
The BNP is once again circulating *Holocaust News*, a four-page newspaper-format rag that alleges that the Holocaust did not happen. This incitement to racial hatred against the Jewish community also alleges that Anne Frank's diary was a fake and that Holocaust stories are fabricated in order to create support for the State of Israel. Its front page declares:

"The assertion that more than 6 million Jews were deliberately exterminated in gas chambers, or otherwise, as part of a campaign of genocide is a preposterous propaganda fabrication which daily becomes more threadbare."

Holocaust News first appeared in the early 1980s when National Front member Richard Verrall produced it under a pseudonym. It was reprinted in the mid-1980s and the BNP distributed tens of thousands of copies. Copies were sent to MPs, councillors and anybody who had a Jewish name and so might be upset by it. Despite outrage from the recipients, the Director of Public Prosecutions at the time decided not to prosecute.

The prime mover behind the distribution of *Holocaust News* was and still is Richard Edmonds, a senior BNP officer. It is printed in Uckfield, Sussex, by the leading international nazi printer Antony Hancock. Although this piece of race hate material has been circulating for nearly two decades, incredibly no action has yet been taken against the printer and distributors.

While the BNP denies the Holocaust, it applauds actions happening today in which the fascists are prevented from participating only by an accident of geography. For electoral and recruitment purposes the BNP is desperate to show that it is not a bunch of misfits and weirdoes with a sick fascination with Nazi Germany. The problem the party faces at the moment is that, despite people bemoaning the lack of political education in Britain, the British people can still smell a Nazi rat when it pops its head out of the sewers. As the BNP tries to pull the wool over people's eyes by claiming that its compulsory repatriation policy has changed, or is benign, its cheering on of the tragedy of the Kosovo Albanians has revealed the truth.



ENGLAND, 1946. Rationing, bombsites, the war over, fascism overcome. Or nearly overcome. The images of the Nazi death camps in Europe are still fresh in everyone's mind, but a resurgence of support for Oswald Mosley's blackshirts has brought terror back to the streets, and groups of British fascists roam the capital, as destructive and hate-fuelled as ever they were in the dark days of the thirties and the riots at Cable Street.

Gradually, men rise up to confront them. Jews back from the war, young radicals, and demobbed English blokes determined to tackle in their streets the evil they had spent six years fighting. Armed with fists, coshes and the occasional knife or knuckle-duster, they depend above all on their spirit as a group, and their bravery as individuals. And one of the bravest of them all, certainly one of the toughest, is a teenage hairdresser's apprentice called Vidal Sassoon.

It is one of the most unlikely bits of fashion trivia anyone could imagine. Vidal Sassoon, the man who invented modern hairdressing, gave us the Five Point Cut, the Asymmetric Bob and Mia Farrow's $5,000 haircut for Rosemary's Baby, was a street-fighting man. He was harder than the painted nails of his lady clients.

Reclining at the Beverley Hills Mansion he shares with his fourth wife Ronnie and his beloved shih tzus, Sassoon, now 70, looks tanned and fit (helped by regular doses of yoga and Viagra) as he casts his mind back towards the end of the Second World War to tell a story that few have heard, and about which even his friends have been in the dark for more than half a century. A tale from London's dank days of austerity when the man who made his name by shaping heads was more interested in breaking them.

"When I came back to London after the evacuation I was 17," he recalls. "I wanted to be a footballer but my mother insisted I get a profession, so I was apprenticed to a very distinguished hairdresser called Adolph Cohen, who was known by everyone as The Professor. It was a happy time. We lived on the fourth floor of a Petticoat Lane tenement building, where the smell of bagels wafted up from the bakery downstairs.

"The Lane was a maze of colourful humanity, people cared for one another, and showed a kindness that knew no barriers of race. But then that popinjay Mosley was released from prison, where he had spent most of the war. And our lives were to change for the worse.

"Suddenly, there were fascists preaching hate on every corner," says the cool pensioner, his voice tightening a little with anger that seems undimmed by the passage of time. "These rabble-rousers were the same Nazi sympathisers who had spent the war years in prison, and were now starting up where they had left off.

"Their speeches and their literature depicted us, the Jews, as coarse, ugly caricatures with long beards and dirty finger-nails, dressed in black gabardine. And they hurled the same abuse that I remembered from the 1930s, when we had to walk through Paddington in a crocodile to school. I was too young to do anything about it then but I had never forgotten the fear. En masse, when you've got a

The secret life of Vidal Sassoon

by Julian Kossoff

thousand throats all screaming 'The yids, yids, we've gotta get rid of the yids,' that is pretty terrifying. They'd wear uniforms, insignia, the whole thing.

"I don't remember exactly when we decided to fight back, but the pictures we were seeing from Auschwitz and Buchenwald and Dachau changed the shape of our rage, and the slogan 'Never Again!' became a command."

And so it was that the fresh-faced cockney (the measured, mid-Atlantic tones of the modern Vidal are the product of elocution lessons taken in the 1950s) signed up with the 43 Group, a crudely armed paramilitary force which began as 43 Jewish ex-servicemen and which by its peak was to number more than 1,000 Jews and gentiles, men and women.

"We had turned the cheek for the last time," says Sassoon, who heard about it on the Whitechapel grapevine. "And as a 17-year-old recruit, I was proud to be involved. The men were mostly ex-servicemen, unsung heroes who had fought for five years and had come back to be abused by fascists as they walked down the street. They didn't want anything but peace, but it was disgusting that having just fought a war against Nazism, home-grown fascists were allowed to start reorganising. Something had to be done.

"As soon as I showed an interest I was assigned to a particular group, like everyone else. My guv'nor in the East End group was Jackie Myerovitch, and from him we would get a phone call to be in a certain place at certain time to disrupt a Mosley speech, or one of the pubs. There was even a plot to kidnap the quisling himself, strip him and dump him naked in Piccadilly Circus. Then these incidents, or actions, would begin. It was pretty terrifying. I remember Jackie being badly slashed, but there was no time to worry about such things."

A boy amongst hardened fighting men, Sassoon was to become one of the toughest and keenest of all the informal soldiers.

"He was only a kid, but he was a tough little shtarka," says a former group commander and comrade, retired paratrooper Gerry Lambert, using a Yiddish word that corresponds, more or less, to hard man. Many former 43ers remember Vidal well and his solid reputation of standing firm when the fists started flying. "To think what a big deal hairdresser he would become," said one of the veterans. "You would never have guessed to see him there, deep in the fray. At that time he was just the sort of guy you wanted standing right by your side when the fighting started. And back then, of course, we often had to break the law. It was out of necessity. We had to use the same weapons as the fascists did: knuckle-dusters, coshes, and cut throat razors."

Inevitably the police arrested hundreds of people during the five years of organised violence and on at least one occasion the young Sassoon found himself in jail. "I've lost count of the number of actions I was involved in," he smiles, "but I do remember the night we were told to go up to Kilburn [in north-west London], to break up a fascist meeting. There was a real punch-up. We chased the black-shirts into a pub, but we were ourselves being chased by the police. They arrested us on the spot, threw us in the back of the van and started calling us filthy foreign Jew bastards. They beat the hell out of my old friend Big Mo Levy and threw us in a cell for the night."

Sassoon pauses to reflect on his days of valour in a different world, before he succeeded Teasy Weasy Raymond as crimper to the stars, style pioneer to the sixties counter culture, and went on, after laying down his scissors in the 1970s, to create a range of hair products that have helped him to amass a £100 million fortune, part of which funds the renowned Vidal Sassoon Centre for the Study of Antisemitism and Xenophobia at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Now the most famous hairdresser in the world he recalls:

"When we went up before the judge the next morning we told him about the police brutality, but he just said, 'those sort of things do not happen in Britain, now go home and be good boys'." He laughs and repeats again what he has been saying all along: "I was just a private, foot-soldier. I wasn't a particular hero."

In 1948, he left Britain to fight in the Israeli War of Independence. He would have liked to have stayed in the new country, attended university and become an architect, but his family's East End poverty forced him back to London. "I thought if I had to do hairdressing I'd try and be the best I could at it," reflects Sassoon. The rest is history.

At every turn, his modesty will not allow him to describe his double life as anything out of the ordinary for the time and place. "I took a few knocks, but we did physical damage to them, too. That's what happens when there is hate. Violence for its own sake is nonsense, but in defence of one's children and one's elders is a necessity." But to show up for work, in a ladies hairdresser's salon of all places, battered and bruised from a night's fighting, must have been a surreal position for a young man to find himself in.

"Well yes," he says gently, "I had to have a sense of humour. There was one occasion one morning after a particularly nasty tear-up, I went to work at the salon in Mayfair with a badly scratched face and this refined client looked at me and said, 'Good God, Vidal, you look terrible. What happened to you?'

"Nothing much, I said. I just fell over a hairpin."

Crimes of war

Perhaps it was inevitable that the Scotland Yard War Crimes Investigation Unit was going to be wound up some time; only the timing was uncertain writes Gerry Gable. Fifty-four years after the end of the Second World War, only a few Nazi war criminals remain alive in Britain and in a fit state to stand trial. Those witnesses who are still alive now have fading memories – often a blessing after what they experienced at the hands of Nazi camp guards, occupation forces and others in the service of the Third Reich.
Searchlight fought a long hard struggle to have the necessary legislation passed in the British Parliament to enable Nazi war criminals to be tried in Britain. Now that the work of the war crimes unit is at an end, was it all worth it?

Nazis hang Soviet partisans in Minsk

It was the list of 17 alleged war criminals living in Britain, issued amid a great amount of ballyhoo by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles in the mid 1980s, which set in motion a train of events that led to the conviction of just one Nazi monster at the Old Bailey early this year. Could, and should, there have been more trials?

The Wiesenthal Centre list drew public attention to a fight that had gone on since the dying days of the Second World War, with demands from the former Soviet Union and Poland for the return of hundreds of war criminals living freely in this country. However, the list itself was a hodgepodge of useful and useless information. Some people on it had been dead for more than 20 years, others serving in the Latvian SS turned out to be the regiment's dentists and not fighting troops.

Britain's Jewish community leaders were unsure how to react to the list and call upon Searchlight's investigators to ascertain its validity. In fact for some time before the list turned up, Searchlight had been carrying out research with a view to producing a television documentary about the war criminals living freely in Britain.

Working closely with the Union of Jewish Students Searchlight launched a nationwide campaign, backed by the National Union of Students and several trade unions, especially in Scotland where Antanas Gecas, one of the prime war criminals, was living openly, despite television and press exposure of his terrible crimes in Byelorussia and Lithuania. He had been unmasked as a mass killer for his Nazi masters in a face to face confrontation with Eli M Rosenbaum of the US Office of Special Investigations, which has a record second to none in rounding up wanted Nazi war criminals.

Postcards with a photograph of him in his Nazi uniform deluged the Home Office. This campaign was accompanied by a whistle stop tour of the UK, with NUS, UJS and Searchlight speakers addressing audiences of hundreds of students, from London to Scotland, Cambridge and Manchester.

Then came the Parliamentary All-Party War Crimes Campaign ably led by Lord Janner, then Greville Janner, the MP for Leicester. He and his team of former UJS activists built a political machine that eventually resulted in the passing of the war crimes legislation, despite opposition from antisemites in both Houses of Parliament and some woolly-headed liberals in all parties.

Searchlight undertook its own factfinding missions in the areas where the killers had plied their bloody trade. Two investigators visited Russia, Byelorussia, Lithuania and Latvia and stood in some of the places where these crimes had been committed. They met state lawyers, witnesses, convicted war criminals and survivors, and brought back video footage, legal documents and statements of eyewitnesses to the atrocities committed by people now living Britain. On their return they handed their evidence to the Home Office and later the Scotland Yard team.

In one of the proudest moments of the campaign Searchlight investigators confronted a war criminal in his comfortable Nottingham home and exposed him in the next issue of Searchlight. He had tried hard to cover his tracks by pretending to be dead. Some of those under investigation really did die along the way and others, from the Latvian community, got injunctions against us to halt our investigations.

The first trial at the Old Bailey collapsed because of the mental state of the defendant. This failure did not deter the police and Crown Prosecution Service from pursuing the case against Anthony Sawoniuk, who at the end of his successful trial emerged as not only a Nazi beast in his homeland but also as a vicious individual towards his neighbours in his adopted land.

Fifteen years of hard work ended with two last-minute byproducts. First came the news that evidence uncovered by Scotland Yard detectives led to the trial of a major war criminal, Alfons Goetzfried, which opened in Stuttgart, Germany last month. He is accused of shooting 500 people at Maidanek concentration camp, but is thought to have been responsible for thousands of other murders. Secondly, 78-year-old Avto Parjanadze, living under an alias in a small Welsh village with his wife, a local woman, has been denounced as a member of Einsatzgruppe D, one of the SS extermination squads that butchered their way across eastern Europe before the death camps were set up. Information passed to the Scotland Yard investigation team suggests that he originates from the former Soviet Republic of Georgia and must have joined the death squads as a volunteer.

Some seven million pounds of taxpayers' money down the road, can we feel good about our role in the trial and conviction of only one Nazi. We answer with an unequivocal yes. As hundreds if not thousands are slaughtered in what is euphemistically called ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, let the killers know that there will always be people who seek justice, even for the longtime dead.

Our greatest regret is that Gecas, who lost a libel action brought by him, did not have to face a jury trial for mass murder, where the evidence would have been overwhelming.

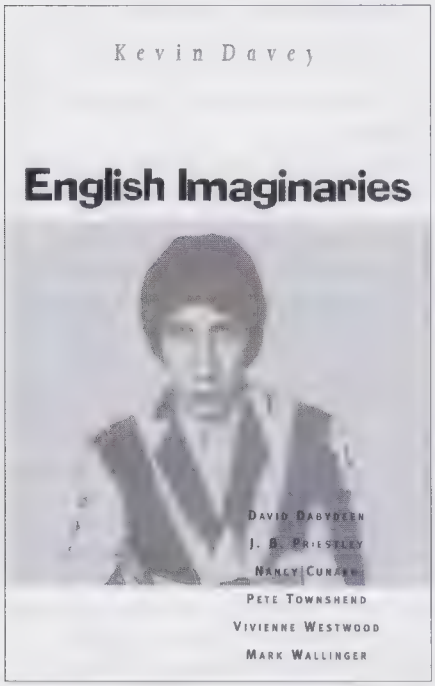
What do we remember most? Standing at the memorial to the hundreds of massacred villages of Byelorussia and hearing the mournful tolling of a bell in remembrance; the wall dedicated to the thousands of children murdered in the Riga concentration camp; meeting the daughter of the martyred hero of Minsk, Kyril Shein, butchered by Gecas; and the words of the great Jewish philosopher Emile Fackenheim, saying to one of our huge joint rallies in Manchester: "We know all of these monsters are going to hell but let's give them hell before they get there".

Never forgive, for forgiveness can only be given by the victims, never forget for the sake of future generations and justice in the world.

Review

Strange English

Anthony Barnett



English Imaginaries is Kevin Davey's first, long awaited book. It undertakes a generous exploration of its selected figures which excavate the positive elements of resistance and originality where most have sneered and dismissed.

English Imaginaries has two important objectives. Its main thrust is an attempt to map out the possibilities of what might be called 'strange Englishness' to replace a now broken but once dominant white Anglo-Britishness. The term 'strange Englishness' is mine and Davey might not approve. I use it to describe what I take to be the response he argues for and to distinguish this from the now familiar appeals for a multicultural, open, urban, diverse, pluralistic, redefinition of English-Britishness which, among others, I too have attempted. Davey's argument suggests that traditional Anglo-British national attitudes cannot be successfully injected with tolerance and pluralism. These exist, but cannot define. Instead, some sort of replacement is, and needs to be, under way. To demonstrate this claim, and to show how his views have been prefigured, Davey selects six different yet exemplary figures.

His second objective is more immediate. It is to sound a warning against the facile New Labour nationalism, whose 'Cool Britannia' is likely to end in tears. Already, most people just try to forget the Government's early efforts to project itself as the harbinger of a 'young Britain'. But Davey takes the national popular seriously and reckons that any major claim upon it, such as the Millennium Dome, will have significant consequences. Should it succeed commercially as a circus it might be forgotten. But if it flops and this is seen as a defeat of Blairism, the disaster could live on symbolically, as disasters often do. Is the Dome a land-borne Titanic waiting for its iceberg?

Davey's two aims may be linked but taken together they assume a framework that is surprising. In the 1990s it has been usual to assume that Britishness is being re-imagined as inclusive. As the Empire has entered the motherland, a new polyvalent non-imperial society is being born with which all can identify, while Englishness has been made the scapegoat – the carrier of whiteness, hooliganism, Cross of St George intolerance and exclusivity. The Scots may see the English in similar terms, but within Scotland itself a contrasting process has taken place. There, Scottish nationalism has become self-consciously civic and inclusive, while their own bullying and imperial traditions have been projected onto Britishness. Without saying so, Davey's book is written as if Scotland has already left the United Kingdom and there is no viable Britishness left, except for Tony Blair's effort at recycling unionism and giving the monarchy a makeover.

Kevin Davey initiates his expedition into the land of strange Englishness with Nancy Cunard, whom he rehabilitates in a moving assessment. The chapter on Nancy Cunard is followed by one on J B Priestly whom Davey proposes as a 'Bradford Gramsci'. A national voice of the left, Priestly both opposed the historic British regime and was a consistent and far-sighted enemy of Labour economism.

After Priestly, Pete Townsend. The most anarchic and enraged of the sixties greats is the one who has developed the most in music and form, refusing either to retire from his argument with England or to recycle himself on the circuit of global entertainment. Davey notes Townsend's recantation of the sixties. He, of all people, now rejects the attempt to "drive generational wedges between people".

The next figure in Davey's constellation is dramatically anti-populist. Vivien Westwood, for whom punk was a starting point, has treated the history of elite fashion as a rummage box, dressing up design in the audacious enjoyments of display whose energy arcs from the past.

The novelist, poet and historian David Dabydeen follows, as Davey's selection becomes more contemporary. Born in Guyana in 1955, sent to live with his remarried father in south London when he was 14, and selected by Cambridge five years later, Dabydeen's voice and insights are used to reinforce Davey's argument that the shifts towards multiracism taking place in Britain are contested.

Davey concludes his survey with a chapter on Mark Wallinger, whose contribution to the Saatchi driven phenomenon of young British artists has been to paint life-size Stubbs-like pictures of horses and even to create a consortium that bought and raced a chestnut filly named 'A Real Work of Art'.

While Davey strives to present Wallinger's art as a critical reworking of patriotic and class symbolism, this seems to me his weakest chapter.

Throughout the presentation of his half-dozen exponents of a re-imagined Englishness, Davey utilises the work of Julia Kristeva. In particular he draws on the value she places on strangeness and he makes use of her term 'abjection', a concept she developed to describe the process of identity-making refusal, in which violent feelings of disgust and inner repugnance are felt, drawn – she argues – from the drive to separate from the mother.

Abjection is a process of differentiation which expresses itself with such a strength of feeling that it suggests a repulsion from something which is felt to be a threatening part of oneself. A 'Kristevian politics' would not seek to deny or prevent abjection, but it would domesticate it. We would have to share our identity with those who make us want to throw up; as, indeed, many of us do already.

Davey concludes his attempt to apply Kistevian thought to his nation writing, 'if it is to endure, England must first become a nation of strangers'. The stress here seems to be on the paradox that to belong we must feel alien. But Davey's concern is also with the question of how England can endure. In this respect, if no other, it is a classic text of nationalism. Where he reverses the terms is that most nationalist tracts warn of loss. He, by contrast, gathers an almost evolutionary optimism from the termination of Anglo-Britishness.

But can the trajectory Davey advocates culminate in recycling Stubbs on a scale large enough for the white walls of the Saatchi Gallery? A more challenging subject for Davey to assess would be the even stranger phenomenon now at the centre of English power, the Saatchi brothers, from whom we have not heard the last. I do not mean this flippantly. If Davey is right, there will be right-wing as well as left-wing versions of strange Englishness.

Kevin Davey: English Imaginaries, Lawrence & Wishart, pp 202 £12.99

STATESIDE

Resistance Records magazine returns

Leonard Zeskind

After a two-year hiatus, Resistance Records' magazine is to start publication again in August, this time under the direct auspices of William Pierce and his National Alliance.

Long-time readers of *Searchlight* will remember that *Resistance* was a glossy marketing vehicle for white power music produced in Detroit by the Canadian skinhead George Burdi. The magazine published only eight issues, but its mix of fanzine-style hype and red meat propaganda hyped up the neo-nazi skin scene. Production stopped abruptly in 1997, when Burdi was convicted of assault charges and the Michigan state authorities seized the company's computer records and large CD inventory for failure to pay taxes. At the time, it looked as if the company would go under.

Resistance Records stayed afloat, however, with a website and, after authorities returned the music stock, a much diminished sales operation. But soon another shake-up became apparent. Liberty Lobby's *Spotlight* tabloid started promoting white power music, much to the dismay of some of its elderly readers. Then last September, *Resistance* subscribers were treated to a free six-month subscription to *Spotlight* by a "generous [but anonymous] *Resistance* subscriber". Finally the CD distribution centre moved from Michigan to California. Rumours flew that 70-year-old Willis Carto had taken control. Still, the once pioneering company languished in the skinhead backwaters, while Carto and Liberty Lobby tried to cream off its paying customers.

Now *Resistance* has changed hands again. A letter to subscribers announced that republication would begin in August, but this time from a Washington DC address. Rumours flew around the Internet that the National Alliance had seized control, others said that Pierce had personally invested in the company, a distinction without a difference. Look for a sophisticated magazine with aggressive marketing of Resistance Records' lucrative CD stock, all with an Aryan internationalist twist.

It should be an easy sell. Most American white power skinheads find the red, white and blue stuff off-putting. They look to European history, particularly fascist Europe, for inspiration. They would rather read *Mein Kampf* than the Bible or the US Constitution. Unlike the militias that wrap themselves in the clothes of the minutemen of old, they see themselves as a vanguard for the 21st century.

Music has been a powerful instrument in the creation of international bonds. But a refinanced Resistance Records will face stiff competition from new aggressive web-based marketing outfits, such as Tri-State Terror, Wolfpack Services and Panzerfaust Records, a relative newcomer.

Panzerfaust was formed by Bound for Glory (BFG) members who did not want to be left out of the lucrative merchandising market. A Minnesota-based group, BFG made their debut at an "Aryan Fest" in rural Oklahoma in 1988, have done several European tours and produced seven albums. Recently BFG has begun exploring "the realms of death and black metal" through their latest project, Before God. Internationally, the Black Metal scene has become a popular recruitment arena.

Unlike Pierce and his National Alliance, which still believe in the Führerprinzip, Panzerfaust promotes leaderless resistance. According to their website, "Panzerfaust was chosen for the record label's name because the spirit of the weapon and those who employed it are forever embodied in our racial psyche. Stubborn tenacity in the face of overwhelming odds was displayed by those who wielded the original Panzerfaust. In the present era, this same attitude is required by the lone wolf political activist who must operate in a hostile environment."

Pierce's National Alliance will have more torque in the skin scene than Liberty Lobby could ever imagine, but final control of the million-dollar international music market will not fall in Pierce's lap for the asking.

Far right makes new bid for farmers

On the open prairie, far from the skins' musical haunts, farmers are bracing themselves for a new round of foreclosures. Low commodity prices combined with vertical integration of production by corporate agriculture are driving out many of the families that survived the farm crisis in the 1980s.

Already remnants of the Posse Comitatus and Farmers Liberation Army are beating the hustings for new recruits. Gene Schroder, a veterinarian who taught bomb-making in the 1980s and organised common law courts in the 1990s, held a meeting for 100 unsuspecting discontented farmers in Seneca, Kansas. Now he claims to be organising for a lawsuit against the federal government.

This time, anti-fascist groups are prepared to counter the radical right before it sinks deep rural roots. "We are committed to applying the lessons we learned during the 1980s," says the Rev David Ostendorf, director of the Center for New Community. Through its network across the Midwest, the Center is tracking the rural radical right, informing others about early trends and briefing progressive farm organisations. In addition the United Methodists are conducting a series of pastor workshops on the antisemitic Identity theology across the state of Kansas.

by Leonard Zeskind, Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights and Devin Burghart, Center for New Community.

in brief...

Russian Nazis banned

Only months before Russia's parliamentary elections, the nazi Russian National Union (RNU) has been banned in the Moscow region after a court deemed its actions to be anti-constitutional. The decision, at the end of April, followed outrage at a march by black-uniformed RNU members in Moscow earlier this year.

The RNU, whose leader Alexander Barkashov, 45, has several convictions, immediately formed an electoral alliance called the National Block, with supporters of the far-right clown Vladimir Zhirinovski and other extremist factions.

Barkashov has been campaigning to exploit the widespread Russian anger at Nato's bombing of Yugoslavia and met Igor Rodionov, the former Russian Defence Minister, to discuss a pact against the war.

Crossed off the list

The German nazi prisoners' aid organisation, the HNG, has withdrawn its support from the British nazi murderer Charlie Sargent. After several months offering support, Sargent's name was missing from the official list of prisoners in the HNG's March 1999 bulletin. Martin Cross, who was jailed with Sargent, was removed from the list a month later.

The withdrawal of support appears to stem from protests by supporters of Thorsten Heise, one of the HNG's most regular clients. Heise, an especially violent nazi, lives in Northeim, near Hannover, and is a close associate and ally of Sargent's bitter enemy, the equally violent Will Browning, leader of Combat 18.

Nazi numbers grow

The German internal security service, the Verfassungsschutz, estimates that the number of active right-wing extremists Germany increased to 53,600 in 1998, compared with 48,400 the previous year.

Of particular concern is the fact that the number of violent fascists has grown from around 7,600 to 8,200, although the level of violent activity decreased.

The three electoral fascist parties, the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD), the Deutsche Volksunion (DVU) and the Republikaner (REP) all grew. The NPD took on 1,700 new members and now has 6,200; the DVU recruited over 3,000 bringing the total to 18,000 and although the REP gained only 500 new members, it still has 15,000 card carriers.

The level of political violence remains much higher in the east with 46% of all violent incidents involving right-wing extremists occurring in the five east German states.

BELGIUM

Vlaams Blok make gains

by Graeme Atkinson

THE FASCIST Vlaams Blok made further gains in Belgium's national elections, held on the same day as the European elections in June.

The results were a crushing blow to Belgian premier Jean-Luc Dehaene and his Socialist-Christian Democrat coalition which has been battered by a series of scandals involving police laxity over murders by paedophiles and, most recently, the contamination of food with dioxins.

While almost all opposition parties benefited from the government's crisis, the surge of the Vlaams Blok (VB) in northern, Dutch-speaking Flanders poses the biggest long-term threat to the future of the linguistically divided country.

In Belgium as a whole, the virulently anti-immigrant VB polled 9.8% – an increase of 2% on its 1995 vote – and bumped up its representation in the lower house of parliament from 11 seats to 15 seats. In the upper house, its improved showing gives the VB four seats.

More worrying is the party's growth in its Flanders heartland, where it has well over 20%, and in Antwerp where it has nosed past the 30% mark. These results will provide enormous encouragement to leading VB fascist Filip Dewinter, who heads the party's most racist wing, in his campaign to become mayor of Antwerp next year.

The other extreme-right parties fared less well and highlighted the linguistic divide between Flanders and the Francophone Walloons region, where support for the Front National (FN) dropped from 2.3% to 1.8%.

In the capital, Brussels, the VB's campaign was steered by disgraced former police commissioner Johan Demol, an ex-member of the fascist Front de la Jeunesse. Voters in the mainly French-speaking city, however, were not impressed by Demol's law and order policies.

The overall result gives the the VB, the FN and the fascist Front National Belge a combined score of 11.5% and the extreme-right will now claim the recognition so far refused it by the mainstream parties which treat the fascists as pariahs.

If Dewinter, who polled 76,000 personal votes, wins in Antwerp next year, the temptation to flirt with the VB in particular might become irresistible and prove deadly to Belgian unity and render the country's long-running constitutional crisis insoluble.

NORWAY

Justice Department welcomes hate group delegation

From Tim Haug in Oslo and Monitor

THE ANTI-RACIST Centre in Oslo has demanded an explanation from the Minister of Justice for a meeting in May between the Secretary of State for Justice and a delegation from the notoriously racist Popular Movement Against Immigration (FMI).

The FMI's representatives were allowed to expound their racist views and hand over a document purporting to be an analysis of the demographic consequences of immigration.

Afterwards the FMI's newly elected leaders in eastern Norway boasted about the meeting on the Internet. The fascists' propaganda victory is the greater for the fact that the Justice Department is headed by Odd Einar Dørum, a well known Liberal Party member and prominent anti-racist.

The delegation included the FMI's 22-year-old leader, Ken-Rune Almendingen Nilsson, who has open links with the hardcore nazi group Viking. He was accompanied by Erik Gjems Onstad and Odd Lønø, two perennial figures of the racist right, and another veteran, Egil Karlsen. Karlsen left the racist White Electoral Alliance in 1994 and joined Carl I Hagen's right-wing populist Progress Party (FP). Although he holds no official position, he has become a prominent FP activist in Oslo on the party's most xenophobic wing. What Hagen makes of his racist activities remains unclear.

The new FMI board is full of hardline fascists. The treasurer, Odd Lønø, is a long-time activist in anti-immigration groups and has stood unsuccessfully as a candidate for the fascist Fatherland Party. Another former Fatherland Party candidate on the board is Tom Granerud, a shipping broker, who has expressed sympathy for the National Alliance. This recently established fascist outfit is a merger between the United Nationalists, the White Electoral Alliance and riffraff from a number of small and semi-defunct groups across the whole of the far-right.

John Christian Gulbrandsen, 22, is a former leading member of the Fatherland Party's youth organisation and took part in a demonstration outside the South African embassy in Oslo, under the slogan "Justice for Whites", organised by the nazi armed robber,Tom Kimmo Eiternes. Aleksander Erling Kristoffersen, from Oslo, has been connected with Zorn 88 as well as Viking, and tried to organise a nazi bunker in Oslo in 1997 with the Anti-Antifa leader Johnny Olsen.

Another board member up to his neck in the Viking group is Glenn Lunder, 25. When Eiternes escaped from jail, he was helped by Lunder and hid in a forest close to Lunder's home. Lunder was a member of Viking's security crew at the Blood and Honour hate music gig in Råde on 20 February.

These nazis helped form a new FMI branch in Oslo. So far they have only distributed leaflets but, given their pedigrees, violence may follow soon.

FRANCE

Fascist rivals fail to impress voters

From Jean Raymond of Reflex in Paris

LAST MONTH'S European elections in France saw the two former Front National comrades pitted against one another for the first time since their acrimonious split last year.

The two lists, headed by Jean-Marie Le Pen for the Front National (FN) and by Bruno Mégret for the Mouvement National (MN), polled fewer votes than the united FN did in the last European elections in 1994.

The election campaign was overshadowed by the war in Kosovo and by the anti-single currency campaigns of the former Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, right-wing populist Philippe de Villiers, Daniel Cohn-Bendit of the Greens and even the Communist leader Robert Hue.

The split has taken its toll on both factions, especially finacially. Legal wrangling has left the party funds frozen, leaving both groups to rely on ordinary members dipping further into their pockets.

Mégret entered the elections in a worse position. He has lost not only the name but also the majority of extreme-right voters, who have remained loyal to Le Pen.

Preparing his counter-attack, Mégret has planned a programme of alliances with the mainstream right in Alsace, Marseille and Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur in the next municipal elections. However success is not assured. The MN is simply too weak to stampede the traditional right into any pact to the extent that his entire career hangs in the balance.

But Le Pen's FN is hardly in better shape. It too has lost votes and some of its MEPs have defected to Mégret, but most significantly it is has lost its militant base. Neither Le Pen nor Mégret managed to draw more than 3,000 fascists to their respective traditional May Day marches, which last year, before the split, attracted 8,000.

The few leading figures who remain remain are incapable of replacing the aging Le Pen, who has been left drained and exhausted by this third attempt by rivals to mount a coup against him. Furthermore, as if the FN split were not enough to contend with, Le Pen faces another big challenge in the shape of a tax ambush. Following complaints from several embittered Mégretists, the authorities have started to scrutinise his tax affairs.

Cash destined for the FN appears to have found its way into structures under Le Pen's direct control. There is also evidence of artificial losses having been created to evade tax, of collections at rallies being transferred into Le Pen's bank accounts with little satisfactory explanation, and of useless purchases being made from a company directed by Le Pen's friend Jean-Pierre Mouchard.

While the European election results confirm Le Pen's continuing supremacy on the French extreme right, the chances of him standing in the next Presidential election in two years are looking increasingly remote.

SWEDEN

From Stieg Larsson in Stockholm

Two police die in botched robbery

THREE NAZIS associated with the violent National Socialist Front (NSF) brutally ambushed and killed two policemen after a bank robbery went badly wrong at the end of May.

The NSF's leader, Anders Högström, has refused to dissociate himself from the killers. Another NSF member, named as Jonas Nyberg in the German press, was more frank, telling reporters: "We don't get any state funds and have to get our money from other sources".

On 29 May, two heavily armed men raided a bank in Kisa, about 250 km southeast of Stockholm. A third robber armed with an automatic weapon covered the street and threatened passers-by.

As they were making their escape, Kenneth Eklund, the local police chief, arrived and took up pursuit. The robbers immediately sprayed his police car with bullets, but Eklund stayed on their trail.

Two kilometres outside the town, Eklund slowed down approaching a sharp bend, suspecting an ambush. As he rounded the bend, automatic weapons let loose a hail of bullets. Eklund, armed only with a police handgun, was not hit but his car was badly damaged.

Abandoning his car, Eklund ran 20 metres across the open road, taking refuge in a marsh. Instead of making good their escape, the nazis calmly pumped several rounds into the marsh before lobbing three hand grenades.

Thinking they had disposed of him, they drove on. Eklund, much to his own surprise still alive and uninjured, crawled out of the marsh and almost shot a photographer who had arrived on the scene.

Deadly ambush

Ten kilometres on, the nazis switched cars, but two officers, Olov Boren and Robert Karlstrom, who had just come on duty, were suspicious and followed the car at a distance for several kilometres. Entering the village of Malexander, the nazis screamed to halt around a sharp bend and took up firing positions outside their car.

The two policemen were taken completely by surprise. At least one of them returned fire with his handgun, shooting and injuring one of the robbers, but both officers died from shots in the head.

Swedish Television reported, from a very good source, that Boren and Karlstrom were shot execution-style in the back of the head. The police have denied reports that the killers disarmed the officers and used their guns in the shooting.

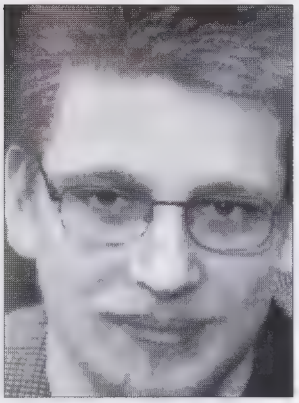
The injured nazi, identified as Andreas Axelsson, survived wounds in the hip, chest and neck, but his condition was so serious that his comrades dumped him, ordering a civilian to drive him to hospital. When questioned 36 hours later, he refused to talk.

Axelsson is the former editor of *Storm Press*, the mouthpiece of the Småland SA, an ardent nazi group in southern Sweden, swallowed up by the NSF a year ago. The NSF is the fastest growing nazi organisation in Sweden and has connections with Combat 18 in Britain and fascists in Norway and Denmark, including the veteran nazi boss Erik Blücher. Axelsson, 26, is a close friend of Högström and one of the NSF's computer experts.

The news sent shock waves through the NSF, which spent much of the weekend in a "crisis meeting". Högström's then announced that while the party was "in no way connected with the robbery" and did "not condone" the murder of the two police officers, he would not condemn Axelsson. Asked if Axelsson would be thrown out of the NSF, Högström said he was welcome to remain in the party, and that it would give him all possible support.

Jackie Arklov

Andreas Axelsson



Tony Olsson

Bosnia war criminal

The killings sparked off a massive manhunt. A second killer was rapidly identified from fingerprints on a weapon as the rather bizarre Jackie Arklov.

Arklov was born in Liberia to a black mother and white father, but was adopted at early age by a couple in northern Sweden. At 18 he joined the army where he received an elite Ranger training. A gun enthusiast, Arklov began idolising the Waffen-SS, discovered his hatred of race-mixing and became an ardent antisemite. In 1994, he decamped to Bosnia where he was recruited as a mercenary in the Croatian Ludovic Pavolic "anti-terrorist group".

There he took part in atrocities against Bosnian Muslims and served as a prison camp guard in Capljina. During a lull in the fighting in 1995 he was arrested, tried and sentenced to 13 years' imprisonment as a war criminal. Witnesses described how he had tortured and abused Muslim prisoners, including a pregnant mother who was battered with a water hose, forced to suck a gun barrel and threatened with having the foetus cut out of her belly.

A year later, he was exchanged for Bosnian Croat prisoners and returned to Sweden, where he was arrested and spent two months in prison. Eventually the Swedish prosecutor decided there were "no grounds" for a trial. He then joined the NSF, which was somewhat enamoured with having a convicted war criminal in its ranks, despite his lack of racial purity.

Arklov was captured in Stockholm on the afternoon of 31 May. During his arrest, he was shot in the back "accidentally" by a "nervous police officer", but not seriously injured. Questioned by the police after surgery, he adamantly refused to volunteer anything except his "name, rank and number".

Police named Tony Olsson as the suspected third killer. Olsson, 27, a member of the defunct nazi Reich Front, was serving a six-year sentence for conspiracy to carry out a contract killing and is reportedly associated with the nazi prisoners' organisation, the Aryan Brotherhood.

He has recently been on a high profile rehabilitation programme, set up by the National Theatre. Starring as himself in the highly controversial play Seven Three by the trendy playwright Lars Norn, Olsson testifies on stage to his nazi faith and antisemitic ideology. The day before the shootings, he had been allowed out of prison to participate in a performance of the play in Stockholm and vanished immediately after the show.

Ironically, two weeks earlier, a spokesman for the justice authorities praised the rehabilitation programme for the nazis, saying: "They have developed extraordinarily as human beings and have discovered hidden talents. They all have firm plans for the future."

Costa Rica bolt hole

Britt Brodin, Olsson's mother, made a tearful appeal to her son to surrender.

After a few days, police watching her house saw Brodin emerge with an overnight bag in the company of a journalist from *Aftonbladet*, Sweden's biggest daily paper. The police followed the pair to an airport and on to Costa Rica, where Olsson met them. Olsson had left Sweden on his own passport only hours after the shootings and had been quietly sipping drinks in a fashionable apartment while the chase was on.

Olsson's legal representative, Peter Althin, a leading trial lawyer, explained that Olsson was "willing to turn himself over to Swedish justice" provided his mother was present because he "was afraid that he would be shot on sight".

Meanwhile the rival newspaper *Expressen* revealed that Brodin was not the innocent that *Aftonbladet* had made out. The target of the contract killing for which Olsson had been jailed in 1995 had been a 48-year-old mother of five children. Her ex-husband had paid Olsson £5,000, but the "hit" never took place as police nipped the plot in the bud.

Brodin had been the go-between. A police phone tap recorded her discussing details of the murder with her son. She received a two-year sentence.

Sitting on the loot

After her arrival in Costa Rica, Brodin moved into Olsson's hideout. Although Sweden has no extradition arrangement with Costa Rica, the authorities agreed to act on a diplomatic request to arrest Olsson.

On 6 June, Costa Rican police entered the house and arrested Olsson, who did not resist. While they searched the premises, Brodin sat on a settee. Only as the police were about to leave did one of the officers ask her to get up. Hidden in the settee beneath where she was sitting police found more than £75,000, part of the proceeds of the bank raid.

The Costa Rican police believe Brodin helped her son to launder the money by exchanging Swedish currency for Costa Rican. However the Swedish authorities had not requested her arrest and she left immediately for Florida with more of the cash.

Axelsson, Arklov and Olsson are the main suspects in at least four similar armed robberies in the same area in the past year. Some of them involved a fourth person.

The nazi connections have fuelled speculation that the aim of the robbery was to raise funds for a terrorist campaign. And Axelsson's political friends are telling the media that they cannot imagine him as "a common criminal".

GERMANY

From Tammy Wild in Berlin

Flour power sees off nazi campaign

THE COMBINATION of the June European elections, forthcoming regional ballots in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony and Bremen and the further progress of the touring "Crimes of the Wehrmacht" exhibition has resulted in an almost frantic increase in the number of street demonstrations organised by the nazi Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD).

The high point of this activity was meant to be the Whitsun weekend of 24 and 25 May. The nazis chose the date to take advantage of official celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of Germany's adoption of its postwar constitution, the Basic Law, using the slogan "50 years of the Basic Law: freedom of opinion for all".

To show their concern for freedom, NPD supporters picketed the prison in Bruchsal, southern Germany, where the NPD's former leader, Günter Deckert, is serving a sentence for inciting racial hatred. They also announced demonstrations f in Bremen, Cologne and Berlin.

In Bremen their credibility was at stake after 1 May, when a planned nazi mass demonstration was banned and instead 4,000 anti-fascists marched victoriously in the city. This time, the NPD managed a parade, but it was only 300 strong and opposed by more than 1,000 anti-fascists.

In Cologne they fared even worse. A call for a big mobilisation against the "Crimes of the Wehrmacht" exhibition brought out only 300 people. Bad turned to worse, although a court lifted a police ban, the nazis marched only 150 metres before 1,000 anti-fascists physically blocked their path.

The anti-fascists, who had earlier staged a lively 4,000-strong march under the slogan "Cologne stands in the way", were intent on stopping the nazis despite the presence of more than 3,000 police. They got close enough to bombard the nazis with flour, eggs, assorted vegetables and the occasional brick. Local residents, angered by the disruption of community life by a mob of fascists, enthusiastically joined in by hurling vegetables at them.

The fact that police surrounded another 500 anti-fascists and prevented them from moving for more than five hours did not change anything as the nazis still could not move. A police spokesman later explained: "We neither were able nor wanted to force a way through for the nazis".

This contrasts with the conduct of the police in Berlin and the east German states, who have generally not hesitated to ensure – with massive force – that the nazis march without opposition. In Cologne, the police demanded that the nazis cease their antics and get on their buses. After trying to negotiate, the nazis had no choice but to comply.

Anti-fascists in Cologne attributed their total victory over the fascists on 24 May to the very broad support their campaign had won from local people.

Events in Berlin the next day presented a different picture and illustrated the laxity of the city police. The nazis gathered at the Brandenburg Gate in sight of the Reichstag, the new German federal parliament, although the official 50th anniversary celebrations were taking place in the building at the time. To the astonishment of hundreds of tourists, both German and foreign, the 300 nazis, led by Udo Voigt, leader of the NPD, and Andreas Storr, a leading nazi cadre in Berlin and a European election candidate, began to march through the inner city, flying flags and bawling slogans.

Flanked and protected by the police, the nazis were able to demonstrate without serious problems while anti-fascists were limited to chanting "Nazis out!" and distributing anti-fascist leaflets to the baffled tourists.

The nazis are taking to the streets more often and the demonstrations have heightened internal tensions in the NPD, not least between the party's national leaders and the local leadership in Saxony.

The NPD has more than 2,000 members in Saxony – its biggest regional membership – and will contest elections later in the summer. The party's local leader, Jürgen Schön, dislikes all the marching and insists that the NPD needs to "get close to the voters". He believes the sight of thuggish boneheads marching in military formation repels even those who sympathise with the party.

For this reason the NPD in Saxony refused to apply for a permit to stage a big nazi May Day march in Leipzig. Instead, the party concentrated on its own election campaign, focussing on local themes and demanding food for the homeless and "clean playgrounds for Dresden".

How far the NPD will be successful with these "wolf in sheep's clothing" tactics will become evident on polling day. There have already been repercussions inside the party, with the skinhead element deserting the NPD in huge numbers to enlist in the so-called "free Kameradschaften", which are increasingly aligned with the more militant line promoted by Christian Worch and Thomas Wulff in Hamburg.

This pair of frequently convicted nazis see the NPD only as a legal cover for applying to hold rallies at which their own slogans dominate. Their latest scheme was to put on a show of strength in Hamburg, the final venue of the "Crimes of the Wehrmacht" exhibition. The demonstration was banned, but 500 nazis did manage to hold an illegal march, unhindered by police, in the northeast German town of Ludwigslust.

The swing toward the tactics of Worch and Wulff has left the Saxon NPD leaders isolated within the party. Both the Berlin and Brandenburg NPD sections are continuing to use marches in their election campaign. Once the regional elections in September are over, there may be little to hold back an outbreak of factional strife, which could render the NPD and its youth organisation, the Junge Nationaldemokraten, politically meaningless.

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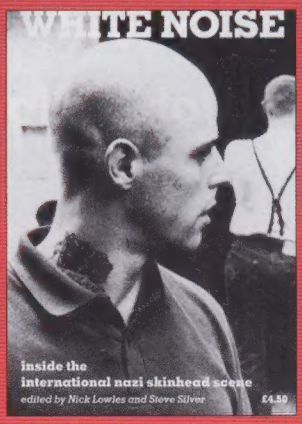

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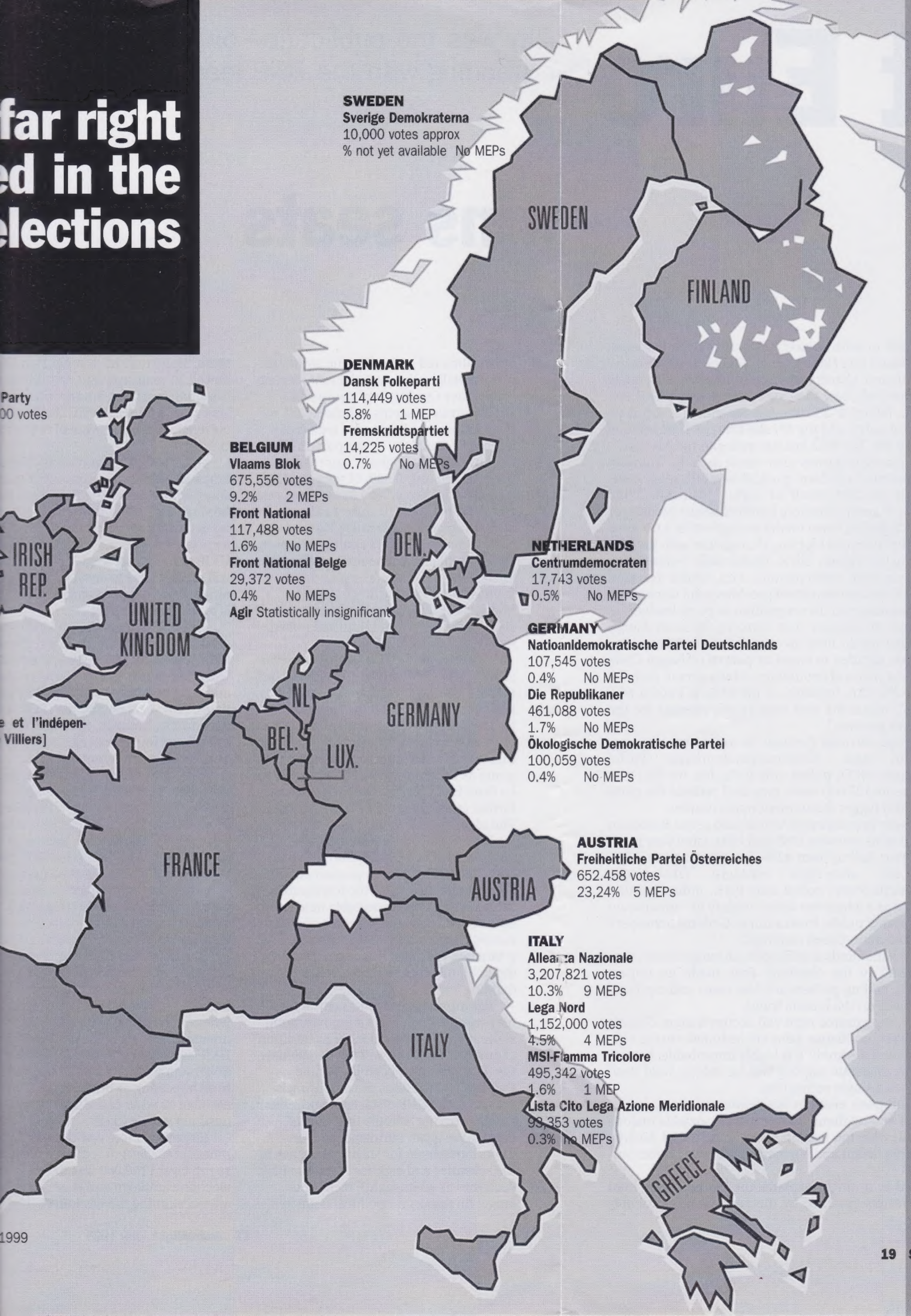

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% not yet available No MEPs

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Front National Belge
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